A GENERAL HISTORY OF SIEGES AND BATTLES,

By SEA and LAND.

CONTAINING,

A Particular and Circumſtantial Account

Of the moſt remarkable

Battles and Sieges, Bombardments and Expeditions,

In different Ages and Parts of the World;

And particularly, ſuch as relate to

GREAT BRITAIN and her Dependencies.

Including,

Anecdotes of the Lives, Military and Naval Tranſactions, of all the celebrated Admirals, Generals, Captains, &c. who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Service of their Country.

In which will be explained,

The MILITARY and NAVAL Terms of Art.

Embelliſhed with

PLANS of the Battles, and HEADS of the Illuſtrious Perſons, mentioned in the Courſe of the Work.

VOL. IV.

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To the PUBLIC.

AGreeable to the original deſign of this work, we have got through the ancient part; in which an account hath been given of the moſt remarkable ſieges and battles of the firſt ages of the world; in which we have ſeen how power, through the ambition of one man, acquired him dominion over his whole ſpecies; and the fate of a whole world ſubject to the arbitrary caprices of one man.

Thus four great monarchies ſucceſſively took place one of another. But, as the world grew more populous, and increaſed in wiſdom and experience, an opening was given to the ambition of others; we (after the dreadful diſſolutions of the three firſt of theſe over-grown monarchies, of which a full account hath been given) ſaw the laſt expire with the death of thouſands, and the diſtreſs of millions. The ſcene of war, no more than that of power, was now confined to one part of the earth, any more than the ſons of men. Ambition reared its ſtandard in many places; tyrants aroſe in many parts; and

every quarter was filled with blood and ſlaughter; and for many ages it ſeemed as if the inhabitants of the world were determined to extirpate each other, and bring on a ſecond deluge, and that of human blood. Not only armies took the field, but whole nations, men, women, and children, encumbered with their moſt valuable effects. Hence we read of hundreds of thouſands being ſlain in one battle, and often a nation falling by the ſword, or going into captivity, in one day. At other times, of nations incloſed within their dominions, and deſtroyed by famine; and of conquerors carrying away men and treaſures ſcarcely to be reckoned up for number.

But of theſe hiſtory hath left us very few particulars; we read of prodigious armies taking the field of a ſudden, as if by enchantment; and of the manner of their fighting we are almoſt as ignorant. What could be obtained, hath been carefully ſought for; and the moſt entertaining and ſatisfactory account of them hath been preſented to the reader; and if the author could aſſure himſelf that the great encouragement this work hath received from the public, aroſe as much from their approbation of the execution of it, as from the nature of the work, it would afford him the utmoſt ſatisfaction.

However, the favour of the public, ſhown by the extenſive ſale of the former part of this

this work, is a ſtrong motive to the author to exert his utmoſt in the execution of the modern part of the HISTORY OF SIEGES AND BATTLES, now to follow. Here indeed we ſhall no longer ſee whole nations take the field; we ſhall no longer review countleſs hoſts; and ſeldom ſee a kingdom become captive in one day. Power, in the latter ages, became more divided; and though this indeed gave birth to many wars, yet not to ſuch bloody ones as formerly; dreadful experience ſhowed the folly of encumbering camps with the unneceſſary baggage of their goods; and the great inconvenience and danger of carrying with them into the field women and children; or indeed all their men; a part only were now trained up and diſciplined in the art of war. War was no longer a confuſed fight of multitude againſt multitude, but became reduced to certain laws and orders. Inſtruments of war better adapted to the purpoſe, were invented; regular fortifications were employed for the defence of cities, and theſe owed their ſecurity more to art than nature. As the manner, ſo the ſcene, of war in latter times was moſtly changed; and though the once numerous and formidable inhabitants of the Eaſt were almoſt the only warriors of their age, the more Weſtern parts have ſince become the ſeat of war and policy.

Nor hath our own country, though cut off from the continent, been excluded from its ſhare in the buſineſs of war, or the honours of it; on the contrary, it will appear in the enſuing part of this work, that Britons, from the moſt early ages, have been a brave and warlike people. The inhabitants of the continent have often felt the proweſs of the Britiſh armies, in return for their attempts upon us; and to this day Britons have ſupported themſelves againſt their utmoſt efforts.

In the proſecution of this work a regular and full account of all our wars will be given, and a proper notice, in order of time, taken of the moſt remarkable wars on the continent, eſpecially thoſe in which our nation hath borne ſo great a part; which will appear with uncommon evidence, and no leſs luſtre, in the courſe of our preſent war; of which a complete hiſtory will be given, compiled with the aſſiſtance of ſeveral gentlemen who have been actually preſent in the principal engagements between the Engliſh and French.

What could not be ſo conveniently done in the ancient part will be taken care of in this; that is, plans of battles will be given, as well as the heads of the moſt illuſtrious warriors, eſpecially Britiſh; and the utmoſt regard will be paid to the hints given us by ſome obliging but unknown correſpondents; and

and the proprietors particularly desire to return their thanks to the gentleman for his letter dated from Leeds, and signed N. K. in which he expresses his approbation of "this highly useful and improving work," as he is pleased to call it, "useful to every individual; especially to my brother officers in the army."

The hints given by this gentleman will be observed, as far as the plan of the work will admit; and, in order to render this work more generally entertaining and useful, especially to the gentlemen of the army and navy, there will be prefixed to the next volume, which will be the first of the modern History of Sieges and Battles, *A dissertation on the art of war, military and naval*, drawn up and communicated by a commissioned officer who hath been abroad in the army; illustrated with a large sheet, engraved on copper, representing all the signals made use of at sea by different nations.

ERRATA.

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Page
15, read, Year of the world, 3648; before Chriſt, 356.
112, read, Year of the world, 3681; before Chriſt, 323.

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109, Year of Rome, 681.
119, Year of Rome, 699.
123, Year of Rome, 699.
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GENERAL HISTORY OF SIEGES AND BATTLES.

CHAP. I.

The wars of the Romans (*continued.*)

AMONG other Barbarians who moleſted the Romans, were the Cimbri *, a nation inhabiting the moſt northern part of Germany, who, being tired with cultivating a cold country, incloſed between two ſeas, quitted their peninſula, with their families, and, joining the Teutones, a neighbouring

* They were originally deſcended from the Aſiatic Cimmerians, and are ſaid to have aſſumed the name of Cimbri, when they quitted their

bouring nation, marched ſouthward, fell upon the country long inhabited by the Boii, near the Hercynian foreſt, but being quickly expelled thence, they, having in their way attacked another nation, advanced to the Roman provinces, and penetrating into Vindilicia, ravaged the country of the Tauriſci, to the great terror of Rome †.

The conſul Papirius was ordered to march againſt them, upon which they propoſed to conclude a peace with him, with which he ſeemed to comply; but ſoon after, by corrupting their guides, treacherouſly drew them into a ſnare, as he ſuppoſed, and attacked them in their camp, confident of victory. But this barbarous yet brave people inſtantly got to their arms, repulſed the legions, and furiouſly turned the aſſault upon the Romans, put them in diſorder, and forced them to a ſhameful flight, to ſave themſelves. The fugitive Romans got into the neighbouring foreſts, where, not daring openly to appear in the country, they hid themſelves for three days. As ſoon as the news of their defeat reached Rome, an univerſal conſternation enſued, as they there ex-

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former habitations. Theſe people were now ſettled near the ocean, in the peninſula now called Jutland, and by the ancients, Cimbrica Cherſoneſus.

† Before Chriſt 112, of Rome 636.

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pected that the conquerors would immediately paſs the Alps, ſpread themſelves over the provinces neareſt to the city, and even attempt the deſtruction of it. The Cimbri, inſtead of advancing towards Rome, as they ought in prudence to have done, marched towards the country of the Helvetii, then and long after reckoned one of the Gauliſh nations. They then entered Tranſalpine Gaul, into which they carried the horrors of war.

A few years after, the Romans, in their turn marched againſt both the Cimbri, and Teutones, but Silanus, the conſul who commanded the Roman army, on the firſt attack, was routed and forced to leave all Narbonne Gaul expoſed to the Cimbri, who took all thoſe cities that did not require beſieging, which their ignorance in that kind of war prevented their undertaking. Within a few years after, the Cimbri again entered Italy; but before I proceed to the hiſtory of that war, I muſt take notice of two very extraordinary military exploits which happened ſoon after the late tranſaction, in the firſt conſulſhip of Marius.

The ſieges of Capſa *and* Mulucha.

MARIUS, who ſucceeded Metellus in the command of the Roman army, having ſpent the ſummer without effecting any thing conſiderable, began to be deſpiſed by his

troops, as an inferior general to their late commander Metellus. To remove theſe prejudices, which began to prevail, he reſolved on an enterprize, which would be ſufficient to raiſe his reputation, and eclipſe the glory of his predeceſſor. The city of Capſa ſtood in the middle of the burning ſands of Africa, ſurrounded on all ſides by a vaſt deſert, which made it in a manner inacceſſible, eſpecially by great armies. This city he reſolved to beſiege; and, having provided corn and water, which he knew he ſhould want in the deſert, he ſet out on his march, without communicating his deſign even to his own lieutenants. He marched only by night, the rays of the ſun being ſo ſtrongly reflected by the ſand, that his men could not bear the heat by day. In this manner he croſſed that inhoſpitable country, which was inhabited only by ſerpents of an enormous ſize, which heat and hunger made very troubleſome. After three nights march, with what danger and fatigue the reader may imagine, the army came within two miles of Capſa, before day-break. They then halted among ſome hills which covered the city, and intercepted the ſight of the legions; and there waited as in ambuſh, till the ſun appeared; when Marius detached his light-armed infantry to ſeize the gates; and, appearing at the ſame time with his whole army before the place, ſtruck the inhabitants with ſuch terror, that they offered to ſurren-

der, upon condition that they ſhould have their lives ſpared; but Marius, to fill all Numidia at once with the dread of his name, entered the place ſword in hand, levelled it with the ground, put all the citizens who were able to bear arms, to death, and ſold the reſt for ſlaves.

This barbarous inſtance of ſeverity ſpread terror far and near; the people, where-ever he came, ſubmitted to him; and many, without waiting for his preſence, ſent deputies to him, imploring his protection, and offering to ſupply his army with all ſorts of proviſions. He marched to the utmoſt confines of Numidia, and, in that long march, met with one place only, which refuſed to ſubmit to him. This was a caſtle called Mulucha, ſituated on a ſummit of a rock, and perhaps the ſtrongeſt fortreſs then in the world. It was of no larger extent than the top of the rock, which was one entire body of flint, ſtanding quite by itſelf, and naturally ſo very ſmooth that there was not the leaſt hold for the hands, or projection for the feet to reſt on. The only way up to it was what the inhabitants had cut in the rock, ſo narrow, that two could not, without difficulty, walk a-breaſt in it.

However, Marius undertook the reduction of the place; but the beſieged threw ſuch a quantity of firebrands from the tops of their ramparts, and rolled down the rock ſuch vaſt

ſtones, that the machines were burnt, and thoſe who managed them dangerouſly wounded. The attempt was often renewed, but always proved fruitleſs; beſides, the caſtle was ſo well ſtored with proviſions and ammunition, and the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, that the Roman general could not entertain any hopes of reducing it by famine: yet he perſiſted; and at length mere chance did more than his utmoſt efforts could have effected.

A Ligurian ſoldier, having obſerved ſome ſnails creeping along the rocks, as he was filling his pitcher at a neighbouring fountain, took it in his head to climb up after them. The higher he went, the more ſnails he found in the cracks of the rock, which was moiſter on this ſide than any other. In the mean time the attack was carrying on at the oppoſite ſide; and this encouraged the Ligurian to mount up to the very top of the rock. When he came to the foot of the wall, he found it quite deſerted on that ſide by the garriſon, who were all engaged in repulſing the aggreſſors on the other. Being therefore under no apprehenſion, his curioſity led him to climb up to the wall, which he did by the help of an old oak that grew cloſe to it. When he had, from the wall, a view of the place, he ſlid down the rock, without being diſcovered, and returned to the camp.

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He did the the ſame thing a ſecond time, and particularly examined, whether it were poſſible to introduce a company of active and intrepid men into the place that way. In the mean time Marius, diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of his attempts, was in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould give over the enterprize, and put an end to the campaign; but, when the Ligurian acquainted him with his exploit, he conceived ſome hopes of making himſelf maſter of the place, and immediately ſent experienced officers to view the rock, and report their ſentiments.

Of theſe ſome thought the thing impracticable; but others, more bold and enterpriſing, declared, that, in their opinion, the attempt, if well conducted, might ſucceed. As the loſs, at all adventures, could not be great, the opinion of the latter prevailed; and the Ligurian was put at the head of four centuries of choſen men, provided with hooks, cramping-irons, nails, and hammers. Theſe filed off in the night, and lay in ambuſh near the fountain, till the attack was renewed the next day. Then, while the garriſon was engaged on the oppoſite ſide, with the help of their tools they got up, not without great labour, to the foot of the wall, which they eaſily mounted. Marius had ſent a company of trumpets with them, ordering them to ſound the alarm as ſoon as they got on the ramparts; which they did accordingly, and with

that unexpected noiſe ſo terrified the beſieged, that they abandoned the attack on the other ſide, and by that means gave the legionaries an opportunity of advancing up the narrow path to the gate, which they broke down, and, entering the fortreſs, joined their companions. Being thus maſters of the place, they put both the garriſon and inhabitants to the ſword without diſtinction, ſeized the king's treaſures, and then went into winter-quarters loaded with glory and booty.

The invaſion of Italy *by the* Cimbri.

MARIUS, now conſul for the fourth time, was waiting to give the Cimbri battle in Tranſalpine Gaul, but none of them appeared, they having, in a great council of war, determined to penetrate into Italy, by marching themſelves over the eaſtern Alps; whilſt ſome other Gauliſh and Helvetian nations, particularly the Teutones and Ambrones, were to march over the weſtern Alps *. Marius being informed of their motions led his army to oppoſe the latter, and poſted himſelf near where the preſent city of Arles is now ſituated.

But as Marius could have no proviſions brought down the Rhone to him, becauſe

* Before Chriſt 101, of Rome 647.

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the mouth of that river was ſtopped with ſand and mud, which the waves continually lodged there. He therefore determined to remove this obſtruction; for this purpoſe he ordered a large canal to be dug, into which he turned the waters of the Rhone, and thus opened a new communication between his camp and the ſea *. This canal was ſo large as to admit the largeſt tranſports to paſs, by which means the Roman camp was well ſupplied with proviſions; and ſecured from the attacks of the enemy, being between the two arms of the river and the ſea.

This canal was ſcarcely finiſhed when an innumerable hoſt of the barbarians advanced up to the Roman intrenchments, but not being able to force them, ſhouted horribly, and challenged the Romans to come out and fight them. But as the Roman ſoldiers were terrified at the fierce looks of the enemy, the conſul did not think it prudent to accept of their challenge, but directed his troops to mount the ramparts as often as the enemy came in ſight, that they might be leſs afraid by frequently hearing their frightful outcries, and the diſagreeable noiſe of their arms, and by being familiar with their countenances.

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* This was a great laborious work; and from him, called Foſſa Mariana.

Some brave and experienced officers were ſent out with detachments to lay the country waſte, to prevent the Barbarians from getting proviſions.

This having its intended effect, the eagerneſs of the enemy to engage, increaſed, and they repeated their inſults to force the Romans to an engagement. The comon ſoldiers indeed could but ill withſtand their inſults, and would gladly have come to an action, but the prudent conſul reſtrained them, obſerving to his men, that they muſt not be raſh and run the hazard of a battle. But his remonſtrances only ſerved to increaſe the eagerneſs of the legionaries to engage, who now uſed to the Barbarians, loſt all fear of them; which Marius obſerved with pleaſure. But not thinking it as yet time to venture a battle, and unable by reaſon to reſtrain the ardor of his men, had recourſe to ſuperſtition. Julia, his wife, of the family of the Cæſars, had ſent him a woman from Rome, named Martha, of whoſe ſkill in predictions, ſhe had conceived a high opinion from experience. She was received with great form and ceremony by Marius, according to whoſe inſtructions ſhe was, in fact, to ſpeak, rather than after thoſe of the Gods, and therefore always approved of his diſpoſitions of affairs. For inſtance, Marius aſked whether he ſhould comply with the requeſt of the ſoldiers to lead them to battle; ſhe anſwered, if he did ſo, it would be fatal to Rome; and this

this quieted the whole army. One day the conſul was challenged to a ſingle combat, by one of the Teutones, a man of gigantic ſize; but he deſpiſing his inſults, cooly anſwered, *Let him go and hang himſelf, if he is in haſte to die.*

But the Teutones, not longer able to forbear from coming to an action, atta ked the Roman camp, but proving unſucceſsful, they ſoon after decamped, with an intention to force a paſſage ſome other way over the Alps, and are ſaid to have been ſix whole days in marching by the Roman camp, inſultingly ſaying, to the ſoldiers upon the ramparts, *if you have any meſſage to your wives, we will ſoon deliver them at Rome.*

Their removal made it neceſſary for Marius to decamp; he accordingly followed them into the inner parts of the Roman province, and came up with them near Aquæ Sextiæ *. Here, that he might ſecure his retreat if neceſſary, he fortified his camp.

Whilſt his troops were thus employed, ſome of the ſervants, many of whom went together to fetch water from the river Cenus†, being attacked by a party of the Teutones, who guarded the river, made a great outcry, upon which the legionaries flew to their aſſiſtance. And immediately the whole were

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* Now Aix. † Now the Arque.

under arms, which obliged Marius to draw his troops up in order. The Ligurians advanced to begin the action, whilſt the legions halted at ſome diſtance from the river. Immediately thirty thouſand of the Ambrones faced the Ligurians in good order, and marched briſkly up to them. During their march, they beat time upon their bucklers, crying out Ambrones! Ambrones! to encourage themſelves, or to intimidate their enemies, probably for both reaſons. At the firſt onſet the Ligurians were routed, but this diſadvantage was ſoon recovered; the undiſciplined multitude of the barbarians, not being able to ſtand the ſhock of regular troops, were ſoon repulſed, and driven to the banks of the river, where ſuch great numbers of them were ſlaughtered, that the river was ſtained with their blood. A few of them only eſcaped croſs the river, and got to a fortification, which they had made with carts; whither they were cloſely purſued by the Roman legions. The wives of the Barbarians whom they had left within their camp, ſeeing their huſbands flying before their purſuers, gnaſhed their teeth, ſhrieked horridly, and, arming themſelves with battle-axes, fell furiouſly both upon the Romans and their own people; and, entirely regardleſs of their own ſafety, ſeized upon their combatants ſwords, and endeavoured to ſnatch their bucklers from them. But as ſoon as their fury was abated, they offered

to

to capitulate, provided their chaſtity ſhould not be violated. But this being denied to them, the unhappy women, filled with deſpair, firſt killed their children, and then all of them, being a great number, killed themſelves.

The Romans indeed defeated the Ambrones, but did not gain an entire victory, the Teutones ſtill remaining in their camp, at a little diſtance from the river. But they continued quiet that night, and next day the Romans took the opportunity to fortify themſelves on the eminence, which their general had choſen at firſt. On the third day, the general of the Teutones drew his troops up in the plain, when Marius, having formed his infantry on the declivity of the hill, ordered his cavalry to move down the hill, to attack the enemy, then feign to retreat, and ſo draw towards the eminence. The deceit ſucceeded; for the Teutones, impatient to come to action, moved to the foot of the hill, in good order, and, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the ground, begun the attack with great bravery. They firmly oppoſed themſelves againſt the darts of the Romans, and though obliged to climb the hill, in ſpite of all oppoſition, cloſed with the legionaries, and attacked them ſword in hand. Whilſt the Romans, who were on the upper ground, often tumbled them one over another with their bucklers only.

Another

Another diſadvantage the Barbarians laboured under, was the ſun's ſhining, with great ſtrength, full in their faces; yet they maintained the attack with ſuch intrepidity, that victory remained doubtful till noon, when the conſul's ſtratagem begun to have its intended effect. For it ſeems Marius had, the night before, ſent a party of infantry under the command of Claudius Marcellus, and inſtead of cavalry, ordered the ſervants of the army to be mounted on the beaſts of burden, without ſaddles, to attend him. Theſe were ordered to lie in ambuſh in the hollow roads behind the enemy's camp, and in the heat of the action, to attack them. As ſoon as the Teutones ſaw this detachment advance to attack them in the rear, they loſt all their ſtrength and courage, and fled in much diſorder. For this detachment, though ſmall in itſelf, had the appearance of a large one, from the great number of ſervants, thus oddly mounted. The Teutones being partly ſurrounded, ſuſtained a great ſlaughter in their flight; and had their camp taken and plundered.

Marius ſent intelligence of this victory to Rome, and the republic was ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that they choſe Marius for the fifth time conſul. Marius generouſly refuſed the booty taken from the enemy, and dedicated the whole to the Gods, except only what was neceſſary to adorn his triumph. All the com-

combuſtible things being heaped up in one pile, the conſul ſet fire to it with great ſolemnity. Marius received the news of his election, and leave for a triumph, without ſhowing the pleaſure it gave him, and ſaid, "I accept the conſulate, as a new obligation upon me to conquer the Cimbri, as I have the Teutones. As for a triumph, I deſire it may not be mentioned till I have made my victory complete. The pomp of a triumph, will be very unreaſonable, ſo long as there ſhall remain any Barbarians in the nighbourhood of Italy *."

Manius Aquilius was choſen his colleague, in the room of Catulus, who was continued in the command of the army, with the title of proconſul. As to the Cimbri, they being very numerous, Catulus was not able to ſtand againſt them; he therefore, by the advice of Sylla, who ſerved as his lieutenant, retired from before the enemy, and made two encampments on the oppoſite banks of the Atheſis †. The Cimbri intending to attack the Romans, attempted to paſs the river, but it not being fordable, they pulled up great trees by the roots, and threw vaſt great ſtones into it, in hopes of filling it up, ſo as to render it paſſable. The Romans were terrified, at their numbers and terrible appearance, to ſo great a degree, that thoſe in the larger

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* Plutarch. † Now the Adige.

camp

camp ſhamefully fled, notwithſtanding all that the proconſul could do to reſtrain them. Among others, were ſome Roman knights, who fled to Rome with the utmoſt ſpeed. One of them, ſon of Scaurus, prince of the ſenate, no ſooner arrived at Rome, than his father ſent him word never to come into his ſight. When the youth, who had been afraid of hazarding his life honourably, ignominiouſly killed himſelf.

But thoſe in the little camp behaved more nobly, and made a brave defence. L. Opimius accepted of a challenge from one of the Cimbri, whom he defeated in ſingle combat. However, all were not alike couragious. Five of the tribunes, who commanded the only legion they had, would have endeavoured to force a way through the enemy, but the ſixth, leſs couragious, oppoſed their motion, as too hazardous. But Petreius, enraged at his cowardice, ſtabbed him, and being choſen to command the legion, gained an honourable capitulation, led his little party to a place of ſecurity, and afterwards marched to join the main army, on the banks of the Po.

As to the Cimbri, they ſeem to have wanted ſenſe to take the advantage of their ſucceſs; for inſtead of marching to Rome, then defenceleſs, and in a pannic, they waited for the arrival of the Teutones, of whoſe defeat

feat they were ignorant, which gave the Romans an opportunity to recal Marius from Gaul. The conſul been arrived, joined his forces to the army on the Po, and became chief commander. The Cimbri, at laſt weary of waiting for the Teutones, determined to attack the Romans. But that they might diſguiſe this, under the ſhow of juſtice, they firſt ſent to the Roman general, deſiring lands for themſelves and the Teutones in the country where they were, or otherwiſe they ſhould make them ſenſible of the weight of their arms. To whom Marius, ſternly returned anſwer: "You aſk lands for your allies the Teutones; I have given them ſome already; their carcaſſes are now rotting in the fields by the Cenus, and their bones made uſe of for fences to the vineyards." The Cimbrian deputies, enraged at this ſatirical reply, threatened, that as ſoon as the Teutones were paſt the Alps, they would make him repent his inſults. "You need not then delay a moment, replied the conſul, they have already paſſed the Alps, you ſhall ſee them immediately." Then ſhowing them the chiefs of the Teutonic army in chains, "Pray ſalute your allies," ſaid he, to the deputies with a ſneer, "and make yourſelves ready to come and join them."

Theſe inſults ſo highly provoked the Cimbri, that one of their kings, Boiorix, came in perſon to the Roman camp, and challenged the

the conſul to fix the day and place of battle. This the Romans complied with, though they had ſcarce ever done ſo before. Marius appointed the plain of Vercellæ, a ſpot not large enough to contain half the Cimbri, and the third day after, for the time of engagement. Catulus's army amounted to twenty thouſand three hundred; that of the conſul's, to thirty-two thouſand; in all, fifty-two thouſand three hundred. As to the Cimbri, their infantry were ſo numerous as to cover thirty ſquare furlongs; but their cavalry did not exceed fifteen thouſand.

The conſul, who drew up the whole army, artfully contrived to prevent the proconſul from obtaining any glory from the engagement, by placing his troops in the centre, and his own in the two wings, projecting before the main body, and conſequently moſt expoſed to the enemy, and there the moſt likely to reap the honour of the day. But an unforeſeen accident fruſtrated his policy; for before the commencement of the action, the cavalry of the Cimbri made a motion as if they deſigned to wheel about, and flank the Romans. Upon this the conſul advanced againſt them, at the head of the two wings, upon which the Cimbrian horſe retired, and drew the conſul after them. Whilſt he was at ſome diſtance from the body of the army, the legions commanded by Catulus and Sylla, were furiouſly attacked by the enemy's infantry.

The

The valour of the officers ſo animated the Roman ſoldiers, that they ſtood firmly againſt the attack, and when the vigour of their aſſailants began to fail, briſkly charged them. The northern people, not uſed to the warmth of Italy, were much incommoded by the ſun, which ſhone hotly upon them, and weakened them ſo much with ſweating, that they feebly reſiſted, being ſcarce able to raiſe their arms to ſtrike a blow, and were ſoon defeated. It was now their time to have fled, but their ſavage courage had prevented this reſource; for in order to keep their ranks the better, they had tied themſelves to one another with cords, faſtened to their belts; thus theſe miſerable wretches became an eaſy prey to their conquerors.

And now Marius returning from the purſuit of the cavalry, fell upon them, in this faint and languid condition, weakened by the heat of the day; and a bloody ſlaughter enſued, and the ſpot lately covered with living men, ſhowed nothing but dead bodies. The enemy's camp became the next object, and thither the Romans marched, and here, they met a new and more fierce enemy; the wives of the Barbarians, who were intrenched in a kind of camp, fortified with carts and waggons. From hence they diſcharged darts and arrows indifferently at their own people, and the Romans. They then ſtrangled their children

children in their arms, and afterwards killed themſelves, moſt of them by hanging themſelves on the trees; one woman was found hanging at a cart with her two children at her heels. For want of trees and ſtakes many of the men tied ſtrings in running knots about their necks, and faſtened them to the tails of their horſes, and the horns and feet of their oxen, to ſtrangle themſelves; ſo great was the deſpair of theſe unhappy wretches. Two of their kings ſtabbed each other. Their chief commanders, Boiorix and Luig, died in battle, ſword in hand; two others of their commanders were taken priſoners, and ſixty thouſand of their men, who were loaded with irons, and ſold to the beſt bidder.

An hundred and twenty thouſand of the Barbarians were killed in the field of battle; in ſhort, almoſt the whole nation of the Barbarians were cut off; but as to the two armies of the Romans, ſcarce three hundred men were miſſing. The ſpoils and enſigns taken after the battle were brought to the camp of Catulus; which was a ſtrong proof that his men had principally gained the battle. However, a diſpute ariſing between the ſoldiers of the two camps, it was referred to the diciſſion of the ambaſſadors from Parma, then in the army. Who examining the darts on the field of battle, wherewith the Barbarians had

had been killed, found them marked with the name of Catulus, who had the precaution to imprint his name on the arms of his men the day before the engagement. A further circumſtance was, that Marius's men had taken only two ſtandards from the enemy, but Sylla brought to the proconſul's camp thirty-one, with the brazen bull worſhipped by the Cimbri; ſo that there were ſufficient proofs to determine the diſpute in favour of Catulus, and the ambaſſadors did ſo. Yet at Rome, all the honour of the victory was given to Marius, where he was called, *the deliverer of his country*, and even invoked as a God. However, both Marius and Catulus had a triumph, and each built a temple, purſuant to their vows, in memory of their victory; the former dedicated his to Virtue and Honour, the latter to the Fortune of this day. By theſe two late victories over the Teutones and Cimbri, Rome was delivered from her fears.

As to the other wars of the Romans to be related in this work, they will appear under the name of the principal directors of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. II

The wars of Mithridates *the* Great, *king of* Pontus.

MITHRIDATES VII. ſurnamed the Great, aſcended the throne of Pontus* about the age of eleven, or thirteen, years. His future greatneſs is ſaid to have been foretold by two comets †, one of which appeared at his birth, and the other the firſt year of his reign. Theſe comets were ſeen for ſeventy days and nights together: their ſplendor was ſuch as to eclipſe the ſun, and raiſe in people's minds the dread of a final conflagration. They covered the fourth part of the heaven, and in riſing, or ſetting, took up the ſpace of four hours.

His father having, by his will, appointed his mother a joint heir with him to the kingdom, and he wanting to get the whole power into his own hands, inhumanly put his own mother into priſon, where through hard uſage, or, as ſome ſay, by poiſon, ſhe died.

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* Before Chriſt 124. † Juſtin. l. xxxvii.

The

The cruelty that appeared in his temper, put thoſe who had the education of him, upon attempting to deſtroy him, but could never effect their deſign, as he was always upon his guard, and armed. They made him ride and perform his exerciſes upon a wild and unmanageable horſe, which he governed with ſuch ſkill and dexterity, that his very enemies could not but admire and applaud him. They then attempted to poiſon him, but he being apprized of their treacherous deſigns, fortified himſelf with ſuch antidotes, and preſervatives, that when he attempted, in his old age, to poiſon himſelf, the moſt exquiſite poiſons rather nouriſhed, than deſtroyed the conſtitution of his body. He was the inventor of a well known medicine, called, from him, Mithridate.

He travelled through the various kingdoms of the great continent, to obſerve the cuſtoms, laws, and manners, of the inhabitants, to learn their different languages, twenty-two of which he is ſaid to have acquired. He was three years a travelling, taking notice of the ſtrength of each country, eſpecially of their ſtrong holds and fortified towns; for he was ſo ambitious as to form a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the empire of all Aſia.

His firſt warlike attempt was upon Paphlagonia, which he invaded, eaſily reduced, and divided with his friend and ally Nicomedes king of Bithynia. The Romans, who had

had declared this as a free country, ſent ambaſſadors to him, to remonſtrate againſt this invaſion, whom he anſwered but roughly, deſpiſing their threats, that followed. Having procured the murder of the king of Cappadocia, his friend Nicomedes invaded that country, and expelled the ſon of the late king, and married his widow, in hopes of ſecuring the kingdom to himſelf. But this baſe action did not proſper, for this affording a plauſible pretence to Mithridates of falling upon Cappadocia, and weakening his ally and rival, he therefore undertook the baniſhed king's cauſe, who was his nephew, expelled Nicomedes, and acquired a great reputation by reſtoring the young king to his throne, without being ſuſpected of having procured the death of his father.

But afterwards repenting that he had preferred reputation and juſtice, to power and fame, he laid a ſcheme to quarrel with his nephew. To this end he preſſed the young monarch to recal the wretch who had aſſaſſinated his father, which he reſenting, and Mithridates threatening to bring him back by force of arms, a quarrel enſued. And now Mithridates, with an army of about eighty thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſix hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, entered Cappadocia, thinking his nephew would be unable to oppoſe ſo great a force. But he was miſtaken; for his nephew's army was equal to his,

his; he therefore had recourſe to a baſe ſtratagem. He pretended to be deſirous to accommodate matters, and therefore demanded a conference with the young monarch, to which he agreed; but when they were met together in the ſight of both armies, Mithridates drew out a dagger which he had concealed in the plaits of his garments, and openly ſtabbed the unſuſpecting king. The terror and conſternation which ſeized the Cappadocians, at the ſight of ſo treacherous an action, was ſo great, that they threw down their arms and became an eaſy prey. Thus he became poſſeſſed of the whole kingdom, which he reſigned to his ſon, a child but eight years old, entruſting the care both of him and of the kingdom to Gordius, who was the man he had employed to kill the father of the young king whom he himſelf had juſt aſſaſſinated.

But the Cappadocians were too noble to ſubmit to an aſſaſſin, ſhook off the tyrannical yoke, and choſe the brother of the late prince for their king. But Mithridates ſoon expelled him, and once more reduced Cappadocia under his power. The newly expelled king ſoon after died of grief*; and upon his death

* In him was extinct the family of the Pharnaces, which had ruled over Cappadocia from the time of Cyrus the Great.

Nicomedes, jealous of the power of Mithridates, ſuborned a youth of a comely and majeſtic aſpect, to paſs himſelf upon the Romans for the ſon of Ariarathes, late king of Cappadocia, and who was murdered by Gordius, but the deceit was diſcovered. For Mithridates ſent the aſſaſſin, Gordius, to Rome, to diſcloſe the impoſture, and aſſure them, that the child whom he had advanced to the throne, was the lawful ſon of Ariarathes. This unexpected, and extraordinary embaſſy, raiſed in the minds of the ſenators a ſtrong ſuſpicion of both kings, they therefore, examining more cloſely into the affair, diſcovered the deceit, commanded Mithridates to quit Cappadocia, and Nicomedes Paphlagonia.

The Romans now thought it high time to oppoſe the reſtleſs ambition of Mithridates, and the power he had obtained among the Aſiatic princes. They therefore ſent Sylla into Cappadocia, in appearance, as an ambaſſador, but really to counter-act the meaſures of Mithridates. Sylla, though he had but a few men with him, attacked Gordius, defeated him, and placed one Ariobarzanes upon the throne of Cappadocia. As ſoon as the Roman general had ſet out on his return home, Mithridates, who had before made no oppoſition to the expulſion of his ſon, as if he had been wholly unconcerned in the affair, now induced Tigranes, king of Armenia, to fall upon the new king of Cappadocia, who upon his

his approach fled to Rome. Tigranes, therefore, without losing a man, got possession of the kingdom, placed Ariarathes, son to Mithridates, on the throne, and put all things into their former order. The king of Bithynia dying at the same time, Mithridates invaded the kingdom, drove out his natural son, called after his father, Nicomedes, whom the Romans had made king, and put his own brother Socrates, surnamed Chrestus, or the Thrifty, upon the throne.

Nicomedes fled to Rome; where it was decreed by the senate, that he and Ariobarzanes should each be restored to their respective kingdoms. For this they sent Manius Aquilius, and Marcus Altinius, into Italy as legates; and there joined by some of the Roman, and the auxiliaries of the allied kings, Nicomedes was reinstated in the kingdom of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes in that of Cappadocia.

Both kings, at the instigation of the legates, made frequent inroads into the territories of Mithridates, and committed many hostilities in confidence of assistance, promised by the Romans in case they should need it. But Mithridates, though he knew all this was done by order of the legates, to pick a quarrel with him, not thinking himself strong enough to oppose their combined forces, quietly put up with the expulsion of his brother and son from their kingdoms. As to Ariobarzanes,

he would not be perſuaded to inſult ſo powerful a neighbour as Mithridates; but Nicomedes, partly through perſuaſion, and partly through fear of the Romans, carried his hoſtilities into Pontus, and with fire and ſword laid waſte whole provinces, without any oppoſition. Whilſt Mithridates, to juſtify in the eyes of the world the war which he had for a long time meditated againſt the Romans, ordered his lieutenants to forbear returning any hoſtilities, till ſuch time as he had laid his complaints before the legates; which he did without any ſucceſs. At laſt, he having got together a large well-diſciplined army, ſent his ſon Ariarathes into Cappadocia, who put to flight the two armies of Ariobarzanes and Altinius the Roman legate, and again took poſſeſſion of the kingdom. In the mean time, Nicomedes was making freſh incurſions into Pontus, Mithridates ſent ambaſſadors to Rome to complain againſt him; but they were haſtily diſmiſſed without any ſatisfaction.

During this tranſaction, the legates got together what forces they could, and being reinforced by Caſſius, governor of Aſia, marched into the field, and there waited for inſtructions from Rome, in the mean time, dividing their army into ſeveral ſmall bodies, encamping in different places; and two admirals, with a fleet of three hundred ſail, lay at Byzantium, that the enemy might not enter the Euxine

Euxine ſea. The three Roman generals had each an army of forty thouſand men; to whoſe aſſiſtance Nicomedes brought an army of fifty thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe.

Mithridates, having perſuaded many of his neighbours to aſſiſt him, aſſembled an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand foot, fifty thouſand horſe, an hundred and thirty chariots armed with ſcythes, three hundred ſhips and one hundred gallies. As Nicomedes was marching to take poſſeſſion of an important poſt, he fell in with a numerous part of the enemy, and a fierce battle enſued for four hours, in which each party in their turns prevailed, both behaving with great courage, and obſtinacy. The Bithynians were greatly ſuperior in number; but the armed chariots of the enemy mowing down with their ſcythes whole files at once, they were thrown into diſorder, forced to fly, and leave their baggage, money and proviſions to their enemy. And the greater part of the men belonging to Nicomedes, being killed in battle, he with difficulty reached Paphlagonia, and with the remains of his ſcattered army, marched to join Caſſius.

Mithridates detached Neoptolemus, and Nemanes, an Armenian, with an army of forty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, to fall upon Aquilius, one of the Roman legates, who defended the paſſes leading into

Bithynia. Aquilius, upon their approach, drew up his forces in good order, but being clofely purſued, and harraſſed in his march by the enemy, he determined to hazard a battle; and did ſo, but with very bad ſucceſs, for ten thouſand of his men were killed in the engagement, and all the reſt entirely diſperſed; except three hundred, who were taken priſoners. The legate himſelf, with only a few horſemen ſwam over the river Sangarius, and got ſafe to Pergamus. This double defeat intimidated the other Roman generals; that abandoning their poſts, they left Mithridates in the poſſeſſion of the field. The greater part of the Roman fleet being diſperſed, were either taken, or ſunk.

This opportunity was immediately improved by Mithridates, who over-run the greateſt part of Aſia, as far as Ionia, driving the Romans quite out of Aſia. As to the priſoners which he had taken in the two engagements, he not only ſent them all home without ranſom, but furniſhed them with plenty of proviſions, and money. This gained him the affections of the people to ſo great a degree, that he was received every where with the utmoſt joy, the people calling him their father, their deliverer, their God, the great and ſole lord of all Aſia; and all were ambitious to live under the mild government of ſo clement a prince. From all parts ambaſſadors were ſent to him, to thoſe from Laodicea, on the

the Lycus, he promiſed his protection, upon condition they delivered up to him Q. Oppius the Roman governor of Pamphylia, who had retreated thither. This they readily accepted; and ſent Oppius to him in chains, ordering lictors to walk before him with their faſces, in deriſion of the Roman pride and oſtentation. The ſight of a Roman general, and a proconſul, gave Mithridates exceſſive joy, which was augmented by the delivery of Aquilius by the Leſbians, who revolting from the Romans, ſent him in fetters, with many other Romans of diſtinction. Mithridates treated him with great ſeverity, as he had been the chief author and promoter of the war. He led him about with him wherſoever he went, either bound on an aſs, or on foot coupled to a common malefactor, forcing him to proclaim with his own mouth, to the crouds flocking to ſee him, *I am Manius Aquilius the Roman legate.* At Pergamus, he cauſed him to be publickly whipt, then put to the rack; and laſtly, ordered melted gold to be poured down his throat, thereby upbraiding the Romans in general with avarice, bribery and corruption; as well as him in particular.

After this, Mithridates being looked upon as invincible, all the free cities of Aſia, opened their gates to him. But as in theſe cities there were a great many Romans ſettled, he diſpatched private orders to all the governors

and magiſtrates of the cities, where they reſided, to maſſacre all the Romans *, men, women and children, on the thirtieth day from the date of his letters, and to leave their bodies unburied in the open fields. Every ſlave who murdered his maſter was to receive his liberty, and one half of the debt was to be remitted to the debtor, who ſhould kill his creditor; whoever concealed any of the Italian race, upon any account whatever, was immediately to be put to death.

When the dreadful day came, for the execution of theſe bloody orders, the gates of the cities were ſhut, all the outlets beſet with ſoldiers, and the king's orders were proclaimed. Horror, grief and ſurpriſe filled the hearts not only of the Romans, but alſo of the Aſiatics, ſeeing themſelves compelled either to betray and barbarouſly murder their gueſts, friends, and relations, or be murdered themſelves. But as moſt of the Aſiatics mortally hated the Romans, and were animated by the promiſe of an ample reward, the horrid ſentence was generally, and punctually, executed. At Epheſus, where Mithridates reſided, thoſe Romans who fled into the temple of Diana, were dragged from the very ſtatue of the Goddeſs and murdered. At Permage-

* Before Chriſt, 88.

nia

nia they diſcharged ſhowers of darts upon them, as they embraced the ſtatues in the temple of Eſculapius. At Adramyittum, in Myſia, many were murdered in the water, whilſt they endeavoured, with their children at their backs, to ſwim over to the iſland of Leſbos. The Caunians, though lately delivered from the yoke of the Rhodians, and reſtored to their ancient priveleges, were yet more cruel than all the reſt, tormenting and butchering the innocent children in the ſight of their mothers, ſome of whom run diſtracted, whilſt others dropt down dead with grief at thoſe horrid ſpectacles. Of all the cities where this horrid maſſacre took place, the Trallians were the only people who could not bring themſelves to murder theſe innocent people, but hired a Paphlagonian to kill the few Romans who were among them. He having ſhut them all up in the temple of Concord, firſt cut off their hands, as they embraced the ſtatues of the Gods, and then hacked them to pieces. It is ſaid, there were a hundred and fifty thouſand Roman citizens maſſacred on this terrible day of ſlaughter, though ſome hiſtorians ſay no more than eighty thouſand. However, all the Romans were not ſlain; for ſome ſaved themſelves on the floating iſlands of Lydia, called Calaminæ, where they hid themſelves till they had an opportunity of eſcaping out of Aſia.

Mithridates afterwards reduced ſeveral iſlands in the Archipelago, and then ſteered his courſe to the iſland of Rhodes, where all the Romans who had eſcaped out of Aſia, found an aſylum, and, amongſt others, L. Caſſius the proconſul. As ſoon as the Rhodians heard that Mithridates was at ſea, they equipped a fleet, and put their city in a poſture of defence, determined neither to deliver up the Romans, nor to admit the king. As he drew near, they ordered their admiral Damegoras, an experienced ſeaman, to meet him, and, if poſſible, draw him to a battle, knowing that his fleet, though ſuperior in number, was but indifferently manned. The king's fleet retired, making towards the coaſts of Lycia, as the Rhodians advanced towards him; but Damogoras chaſing them, ſix of his ſhips came up with twenty-five of the king's, and after a ſharp engagement, ſunk two, and put the reſt to flight. Though the king had never before ſeen a ſea fight, yet he behaved with extraordinary courage and intrepidity; but one of the ſhips of his ſquadron falling foul of that which carried him, he was very near being taken priſoner. He ever after abhorred the ſea, and conceived an averſion for all the Chians, becauſe the pilot of that ſhip was a Chian.

Yet unwilling, wholly to drop his attempt upon the city, he reſolved to attack it by

ſea,

ſea, in the night, and ordered a ſambuca *, built on two gallies, to advance to the walls. He had been informed, that the wall of the city was but of a moderate height on the ſide of the temple of Jupiter Atabyrius, and reſolved to ſtorm it there. To this end he embarked troops ſilently, furniſhed ſcaling-ladders, and ordered them to wait till a ſignal was given them by a perſon hired for that purpoſe, from the top of the temple. In the mean time, the king himſelf made a falſe attack on the ſide of the port, with great ſhouts, which cauſed the beſieged to kindle many fires in the city. Thoſe appointed to wait for the ſignal before they began the attack on the ſide of the temple, miſtaking theſe fires for it, were too haſty in the at-

* The ſambuca was invented by Marcellus the Roman commander, at the ſiege of Syracuſe. At this ſiege he faſtened together, ſide-ways, eight gallies of different lengths, which made but one large body, and were rowed only by the oars of the outermoſt gallies. Theſe eight gallies, thus joined, ſerved only as a baſis for a machine, which was raiſed up higher than the higheſt towers of the walls, and had at the top a platform guarded with parapets in front, and on each ſide. This machine was called a *ſambuca*, from its reſemblance to a muſical inſtrument of that name; not unlike a harp.

tempt, and miſcarried. The next morning, early, the Rhodians made a vigorous ſally, and drove the beſiegers off. The ſambuca ſunk with its own weight, after having done ſome damage; when the king, diſheartened at theſe diſappointments, broke up the ſiege, after having loſt a great many men, and the beſt part of his navy*.

After this, Mithridates retired to Pergamus, intruſting the command of his armies to his generals. One of them, Archelaus, was ſent into Greece, with a hundred and twenty thouſand men, where, by the means of a traitor, he got poſſeſſion of Athens, and ſent parties which reduced the neighbouring caſtles, and the iſland of Delos; but the latter was ſoon recovered again by a Roman general, by ſurpriſe. But another of his generals who invaded Eubœa, was very unfortunate. Upon the news of which, Mithridates ſent out his ſon Ariarathes, with a powerful army, who reduced Macedon and Thrace, driving the Romans every where before him. The generals which he ſent into other quarters, were no leſs ſucceſsful, having, at the return of the Romans into Greece, twenty-five different nations which did him homage. And now Mithridates was maſter not only of Aſia, but of all Greece, and

* Appian in Mithridat.

all

all the adjacent iſlands as far as the Cyclades, except Rhodes.

But at length the Romans, who had been buſied with inteſtine broils, found leiſure to think of this mighty conqueror, and their terrible and inveterate enemy; and Lucius Sylla, an approved commander, was ordered to ſail into Greece, to check the high career of Archelaus, who had taken for Mithridates, the city of Athens. As ſoon as Sylla arrived there, Archelaus retired within the walls; but as the winter was coming on, Sylla did no more than cut off his communication with Athens, by a deep trench, which he continued from the mountains quite to the ſea. The city, by this means, for want of proviſions, fell into his hands. But Arioſto, who had before treacherouſly betrayed the city into the poſſeſſion of Ariarathes, and who was now at the head of the king's party, retired into the caſtle, with thoſe of his faction. Where they held out for a long time, but at laſt, for want of water, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Arioſto, at the command of Sylla, was put to death; as were all thoſe who had bore any employment under Mithridates, or had any ways acted contrary to the conſtitutions eſtabliſhed in Greece by the Romans, when they conquered it.

L. Lucullus, lieutenant to Sylla, was ſent by him to the iſland of Rhodes, with orders for them to bring a fleet, as Sylla had but a

few

few frigates with him. But as the king's fleet covered the ſeas, this was very hazardous. Yet Lucullus, ſuperior to fear, boldly ventured out with no more than ſix frigates, and ſailing to ſeveral different places got together ſuch a ſupply of ſhips as enabled Sylla, on his return, to act offenſively, with the aſſiſtance of the fleet from Rhodes. As Archelaus was now greatly ſtraitened, he ſent to Taxiles, who commanded in Thrace and Macedonia, to come to his aſſiſtance; who having, as ſoon as poſſible, joined Archelaus, they two, with a hundred and twenty thouſand men, marched againſt Sylla. Whilſt he, appriſed of their meaſures marched alſo to meet them; though his army amounted but to fifteen hundred horſe, and fifteen thouſand foot. They met near Chæronea, when neither ſhunning a battle, the Romans, encouraged by the example of their leader, and longing to revenge the maſſacre of their fellow countrymen and citizens in Aſia; the engagement begun. † The Romans fought with great bravery and got the day; the enemy loſing in the action, as it is ſaid, a hundred and ten thouſand men, and the Romans but twelve ‡; but perhaps we ſhall be

† Before Chriſt, 86.

‡ So Sylla ſays in his commentaries.

nearer

nearer the truth if we deduct ſomething from the firſt number, and add to the latter.

Sylla having left theſe parts, received intelligence, whilſt he was at the city of Melita, that the Bœotia was over-run with a powerful army, commanded by Dorylaus, a great favourite with Mithridates. Sylla therefore returned into that country, and in two ſucceſſive battles, gained two ſignal victories; and thus was the war in Greece terminated. Dorylaus in the firſt engagement, loſt fifteen thouſand men, though one hiſtorian † ſays a far greater number; in the ſecond, the remaining part of the army, conſiſting of ninety thouſand choice troops, were quite cut off, twenty thouſand were forced into a river, and periſhed; as great a number were ſurrounded, in a marſh, and put to the ſword; for the Romans, remembering how the enemy had butchered their countrymen in Aſia, gave no quarter. The marſhes were dyed with blood; the courſe of the river ſtopt with dead bodies, and in the time of Plutarch ‡, who gives this account, near two hundred years after, there were found buried in the mud, a great many bows, helmets, coats of mail, and ſwords. Archelaus, who had joined Dorylaus a few days before the battle,

† Eutropius. ‡ In Sylla.

with

with ten thouſand men, lay three days ſtript, and naked among the dead, till he found a ſmall veſſel which carried him over into Eubœa, where he got together what troops he could, but was never able to take the field again. The province of Bœotia, Sylla gave up to his ſoldiers to be plundered.

After this Fimbria, having murdered Flacus, who led another army of Romans, took the command upon himſelf, beſieged and took many towns in Aſia, and by his cruelties rendered himſelf more deteſted than Mithridates. Having perſuaded the inhabitants of Cizicum to permit him to enter their city as a friend, he not only plundered it, but put the moſt wealthy citizens to death, that he might get their eſtates, as though they were traitors; others he with threats made to reſign all they had to him. Having one day ſet up ſome poſts, to which he uſed to cauſe men to be faſtened, and whipt to death, he found that there were more poſts provided, than perſons condemned to that puniſhment. He therefore commanded ſome of the ſpectators to be ſeized, faſtened to the poſts, and whipt to death, leſt they ſhould ſeem to have been ſet up to no purpoſe.

This alienated the minds of the Aſiatics ſtill more from the Romans. Mithridates therefore, in hopes to make them revolt, ordered his ſon, called alſo Mithridates, to join three of his beſt generals, and with the

the great army they had to return into Aſia. But Fimbria diſtruſting his intention, marched out to meet the enemy, and offer them battle, before they entered the province. But as the king's army vaſtly exceeded in number the Romans, the latter ſuffered greatly in the engagement, yet held out till night parted them; when they withdrew to the oppoſite ſide of the river, but a little way from the field of battle. Here they intended to intrench themſelves; but in the interim a dreadful ſtorm ariſing, Fimbria took the opportunity to ford the river in the dead of the night, and ſurpriſed the enemy, and, as they lay in their tents, made ſuch a havock of them, that only the commanders and ſome few troops of horſe eſcaped. The king's ſon, attended with a few horſe got ſafe into Pergamus, where his father reſided. But Fimbria purſuing him night and day without intermiſſion, entered Pergamus, and hearing that both father and ſon had fled from thence, a few hours before his arrival, he continued the purſuit, and would have taken the king himſelf priſoner, had he not thrown himſelf, with a body of horſe, into Pitane.

However, Fimbria immediately beſieged the place, blocking up all the avenues, by which the king could make his eſcape by land; but having no ſhips to intercept his flight by ſea, he ſent a meſſenger to Lucullus, who commanded the Roman navy in Aſia, intreat-

intreating him, as he regarded the welfare of his country, to make all poſſible haſte to Pitane, and aſſiſt him with his fleet in taking one, who, of all the kings in the world, was the moſt cruel and implacable enemy of Rome. But Lucullus ſuffering himſelf to be influenced by a party-grudge, rather than by the good of the republic, would not ſtir out of the harbour, though he could eaſily have done ſo, his fleet being near, and by that means have cloſed a war, which afterwards coſt Rome much blood, and treaſure. Fimbria being diſappointed of this aſſiſtance, yet continued the ſiege with the utmoſt ſpirit, in hopes he ſhould take the city, before the king could be relieved by his fleet. But as art and nature had contributed to ſtrengthen the city, defended by a numerous garriſon, and animated by the preſence and example of the king, the Romans could not approach the walls, before the king's fleet arrived; which was received with loud ſhouts of joy, and took the king on board, and, to the utter diſgrace of Lucullus, conveyed him to Mitylene, without the leaſt oppoſition. Fimbria, ſoon after his departure, took the city of Pitane, by ſtorm, and reduced moſt of the cities of Aſia, and ſet large fines on ſuch as did not voluntarily ſurrender.

Mithridates being thus preſſed by Fimbria in Aſia, and by Sylla in Greece, and his fleet entirely

entirely defeated in two engagements by Lucullus, grew weary of the war, and therefore propoſed an accommodation with Sylla, and ſome terms were propoſed by Archelaus on the part of the king, who afterwards had himſelf a conference with Sylla, when a peace was agreed on.

Mithridates, on his return into Pontus, reduced thoſe nations which had revolted during the war, beginning with the Cholchi, who upon the approach of his army, offered to ſubmit, provided he would appoint his ſon Mithridates king over them, which being granted, they immediately returned to their obedience. From this the king entertained a ſuſpicion that his ſon's ambition was the foundation of their revolt. He therefore kept him ſome time bound in golden fetters, and afterwards, without conſidering his paſt eminent ſervices in the late war, put him to death. Afterwards making great preparations by ſea and land, to reduce a warlike people called the Boſphori, or under that pretence, the Romans were alarmed, as well as at his not having in other particulars conformed to the articles of peace agreed upon between them. This ſuſpicion was increaſed by the unexpected arrival of Archelaus, who dreading the king's diſpleaſure, fled for refuge to Muræna, and aſſuring him that the preparations making, were not deſigned againſt the Boſphori, induced him to be aforehand. The troops being therefore haſtily

haſtily got together, he marched into Cappadocia, deſigning to invade Pontus.

Mithridates hearing of theſe motions, ſent to remind him of the articles of peace concluded with Sylla, to which he was a conſenting party. But Muræna, who rather wiſhed for war than peace, that he might enjoy a triumph, denied any knowledge of them. He then plundered and laid waſte the country, not ſparing even the temples, or treaſures devoted to the Gods. He alſo carried fire and ſword into the frontiers of Pontus towards Cappadocia, and paſſing the river Halys, made himſelf maſter of four hundred villages belonging to the king. Upon this, Mithridates, unwilling to return hoſtilities, ſent his complaints to Rome. Callidius was ſent from the ſenate, to forbid Muræna from moleſting a friend and ally of Rome; this he ſaid to him publickly, but is ſuppoſed privately to have given him very contrary inſtructions; for he continued his hoſtilities, and even made an attempt upon Sinope, where the king himſelf reſided, and where his treaſures were kept. But the place being well garriſoned, he was forced to retire with loſs, and Mithridates taking the field, appeared at the oppoſite bank of the river, and, in ſpite of all the efforts of Muræna, paſſed the river, drove the Romans from their camp, and having killed many of them, they were obliged to ſave themſelves by retreating over the mountains into Phrygia. This victory induced

duced many cities again to side with the king, who having expelled the Romans out of Cappadocia, made a great fire on the top of a hill, and offered to *Jupiter the powerful in war*, solemn sacrifices, after the manner of his country.

Sylla being created dictator, and having all the power in his hands, sent Aulus Gabinius to charge Muræna, in his name, to forbear all further hostilies against Mithridates, whom he had honoured with the title of a friend and ally with Rome. Muræna immediately drew off his forces, and abandoned all the places he had taken, after the the departure of Sylla. Soon after, Muræna was recalled, and M. Thermus appointed prætor of Asia, in his room, and Gabinius had it in commission to effect a reconciliation between Mithridates and Ariobarzanes, in which he succeeded; and Mithridates gave to the latter king, as an hostage, his own son, about four years old.

Mithridates now reduced the Bosphori, and attacked the Achæans, but with a great loss. He then returned to Pontus, and made great and warlike preparations to renew his attack upon the Archæans: Sylla dying, he turned his thoughts to the recovery of those countries that he had given up to Sylla. And having persuaded Tigranes, king of Armenia, and his son in-law, to invade Cappadocia, he himself

himſelf, after performing ſolemn ſacrifices to Jupiter and Neptune, entered Paphlagonia, with an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, trained up after the Roman diſcipline, ſixteen thouſand horſe, and a hundred chariots armed with ſcythes. Paphlagonia readily ſubmitted to him, as did ſeveral other ſtates. Julius Cæſar *, who afterwards became ſo famous in hiſtory, being now at Rhodes, ſtudying oratory, hearing of the king's officers proceedings, aſſembled what troops he could, and falling upon them, drove them out of Aſia. Lucullus the conſul was appointed by the ſenate to oppoſe Mithridates, whilſt he advanced with two numerous armies, and a fleet of four hundred ſhips of thirty oars, beſides a great many ſmaller veſſels. One of theſe armies, commanded by Diophantus Matharus, had orders to march into Cappadocia, and, in caſe Lucullus attempted to penetrate into Pontus that way, to oppoſe him. Another army, conſiſting of a hundred and fifty thouſand foot, twelve thouſand horſe, and a hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, was commanded by Mithridates himſelf; and a third, commanded by Marius and Eumachus, two experienced ge-

* He was now but in the five and twentieth year of his age.

nerals;

nerals, incamped in the neighbourhood of Heraclea, in Pontus.

Lucullus receiving intelligence of the king's fleet being out, ordered Cotta, the other conſul, to keep his fleet, which was inferior in number, within the harbour of Chalcedon, whilſt he advanced to engage the king by land. Cotta obeyed theſe orders as to the fleet, but at the ſame time, collecting what troops he could, reſolved to be before hand with him in fighting Mithridates, not doubting of victory. But miſſed his aim, for the king marched to Chalcedon, which as ſoon as Cotta knew, he ſent Rutilius his legate, with a conſiderable body to watch his motions. As Rutilius was on his march, he met Marius and Eumachus, two of the king's generals, and an engagement enſued, in which he himſelf and moſt part of his army were ſlain. Other officers of diſtinction, ſent to oppoſe Mithridates, were alſo cut off. This ſucceſs ſo elated the king, that he ordered his admiral to ſail into the very harbour and ſet fire to the Roman fleet; this he did unoppoſed by Cotta, or Nidus, his admiral, who kept cloſe within the walls of the town, and tamely ſaw, and ſuffered, the enemy to burn ſome of their ſhips, ſink others, and carry the reſt away, ſixty in number. The Romans on this occaſion ſuffered a very conſiderable loſs, few of the mariners were ſaved,

and

and Cotta loſt in the land engagements four thouſand foot*.

The ſea and land were covered with the dead bodies of the Romans; eight thouſand were ſlain in the ſea-engagement, and four thouſand five hundred taken priſoners; and five thouſand three hundred of the land forces, all Italians, being either killed or taken priſoners; whereas the loſs on the ſide of Mithridates, was only ſeven hundred and thirty men.

Lucullus haſtened his march, moſt of the cities of Aſia being ready to revolt; but when he came in ſight of the king's army, he was ſurpriſed at their great number, and thought it not prudent to hazard a battle, having only with him thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe. But there were often ſkirmiſhes between the Romans and the king's cavalry, much to the advantage of the former; which ſo animated the Romans, that Lucullus could ſcarce keep them from coming to a general action. Mithridates, unwilling to loſe the ſummer in waiting on Lucullus, whom he found he could not bring to an action, marched ſilently away in the dead of the night, and went and beſieged Cizicum, with his whole army by land, and four hun-

* Plutarch.

dred

dred ſhips by ſea. This place was of great conſequence to both parties, as it was the key of Aſia, and ſtrongly in the intereſt of Rome. However, Lucullus, early apprized of the king's retreat, cloſely purſued him, fell upon his rear, killed ten thouſand of his men, and took priſoners thirteen thouſand. He afterwards encamped on a riſing ground in ſight of the beſieged city, but Mithridates gave out that Lucullus was at a great diſtance, and that thoſe the Cyzicans ſaw, were ſupplies ſent him by Tigranes, which made them very uneaſy. At laſt, one of Lucullus's men ſwimming in the night thro' the enemy's fleet, got into the city, bringing them a letter from Lucullus, acquainting them of his late victory, and how near he was to their relief. Lucullus afterwards got poſſeſſion of a more advantageous ſituation, by which he cut off the enemy's communication with the country, ſo that they could get no proviſions but by ſea; the Romans in the mean time being well ſupplied.

Mithridates being thus diſtreſſed, redoubled his efforts to reduce the city, battering it day and night, with engines of a new invention. Among other engines, Nicomedes a Theſſalian, contrived one, called helepis, about one hundred cubits high. Upon this, a tower was planted, ſtored with all manner of machines, for throwing ſtones of a vaſt ſize, which ſo battered the walls, that

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the citizens were obliged to labour all night in repairing them. They could not long have endured this great fatigue, but a ſudden ſtorm of wind ariſing, the helepis was thrown down, and the machines planted on the tower, rendered unſerviceable; which proved a great relief to the city. And the king finding he could not batter the walls, began to undermine them, but without ſucceſs, and he himſelf had like to have been taken in one of his mines, by the counter-mines of the city. The winter now was coming on, and the king's army ſo diſtreſſed for proviſions, that many died of hunger, and the ſurvivors were forced to feed on the dead bodies of their companions; this brought on a plague. As great numbers died daily, and no likelihood appeared of taking the city, the king began to entertain thoughts of retreating, but this was not eaſy to be done, his ſhips had ſuffered a great deal from ſtorms, and the Romans had blocked up all the paſſes by land.

Beſides all this, Mithridates, as ſeveral authors † tell us, was greatly terrified by the following prodigy, related and believed by the Cyzicans, and the king's army. In the city, they uſed yearly to ſacrifice a black heifer to Proſerpine; but that year the town being

† Plutarch, Appian and Julius Obſequens.

blocked

blocked up on all ſides, one could not be got, they therefore made one of dough, and brought it to the altar. They no ſooner began the ſacrifice, but the true heifer, which was deſigned for the feſtival, and was grazing on the other ſide of the gulf, threw herſelf into the ſea, and ſwimming through the enemy's fleet, got ſafe to the mouth of the harbour; there ſhe dived under the chain that obſtructed the entry, and paſſing through the middle of the city, went ſtrait to Proſerpine's temple, and preſented herſelf before the altar, where ſhe was ſacrificed.

At laſt, Lucullus having ſent out a ſtrong detachment to beſiege a caſtle, at ſome diſtance, the king took the opportunity to ſend away, in the night, the beſt part of his horſe, with orders not to halt, till out of the reach of the enemy. But Lucullus being aware of their marching, made haſte back, and with ten companies of foot, beſides all his horſe, followed them ſo cloſe, that, notwithſtanding the exceſſive cold, and deep ſnow, in which many of his men periſhed, as they were paſſing the river Rhyndacus he overtook them. Here he attacked them with great ſucceſs, took ſix hundred horſe, with all the beaſts of burthen, fifteen hundred of their men, and put almoſt all the reſt to the ſword, moſt of their horſes having died on the road; however, a few eſcaped ſafe into Bithynia.

As Lucullus was returning back, he had the good luck to meet Ariſtonicus, the king's admiral, whom he took priſoner, and ſeized a large ſum of money, which the admiral was going to carry by ſea, to corrupt the Roman army. By this time, the royal army before Cyzicum being greatly diminiſhed and weakened by the plague, famine, and other daily loſſes, beſide being continually harraſſed by the beſieged, who made frequent ſallies, the king therefore reſolved upon breaking up the ſiege, and returning with part of his forces by ſea, whilſt the other marched by land, led by Marius and Hermæus.

Having taken this reſolution, the king embarked in the dead of the night, whilſt his two generals marched off by land, with thirty thouſand men, as quick as they could, to Lampſacus; but by then they got to the river Æſopus, which happened at that time to be unfordable, being greatly ſwelled with rains, Lucullus overtook them. As ſoon as he got up with them, he fell briſkly upon them, and killed twenty thouſand men, nor would any of them have eſcaped, had not the Romans been too eager to gather up the gold, and ſilver, which the enemy had deſignedly ſcattered upon the road, that the Romans might retard their march by ſtopping to pick them up.

Lucullus now returned to Cyzicum, where the inhabitants received him with the utmoſt

tranſ-

tranſports of joy, and afterwards inſtituted public ſports, called Lucullea, in honour of him. According to thoſe hiſtorians*, the king loſt before Cyzicum, three hundred thouſand men; though Strabo ſays, his whole army conſiſted only of one hundred and fifty thouſand men; of which, according to Eutropius †, a hundred thouſand periſhed at the ſiege. Lucullus marched from Cyzicum, along the coaſt of the Helleſpont, and, arriving at Troas, fitted out his fleet, and put to ſea in chace of Marius, and two others of the king's generals, who were roving up and down the ſea, with fifty ſhips, and ten thouſand land forces on board. Theſe he came up with, near Lemnos, attacked them, took thirty of their ſhips, and put great part of the land forces on board, to the ſword. The three generals got on ſhore and hid themſelves in a cave; but were diſcovered the next day, dragged from thence, and brought to Lucullus, who, after he had ſeverely upbraided Marius, for fighting againſt his country, ordered him to be put to death. The other two generals he reſerved for his triumph, but one of them ſaved himſelf from that diſgrace, by taking poiſon.

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* Plutarch and Appian, and Oroſius.

† Breviar. l. vi.

Lucullus afterwards marched up and down from part to part with great ſucceſs, taking many places. But as he lay before Amiſus, Mithridates advancing to the neighbouring city of Cabiræ, was there joined by forty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. Upon intelligence of this, Lucullus left two legions to carry on the ſiege, under the command of Muræna, the ſon of him of the ſame name, whom Sylla had appointed prætor of Aſia, and marched with the reſt of the army to meet the king. Mithridates had placed in the narrow paſſes, a conſiderable body of men to give notice, by fires, of the approach of Lucullus, and defend the ſtreights, till he could come up with his whole army. But Phænix, who commanded this detachment, though of the blood royal, betrayed his truſt, and joined Lucullus.

However, the king, apprized by other parties of the enemies motions, paſſed the river Lycus, and meeting Lucullus in the champain country, offered him battle, which he at firſt avoided, but ſoon after was drawn to an engagement by the horſe, in which the Romans were forced back to the mountains, and ſuſtained a great loſs; Pompeius, general of the Roman horſe, was dangerouſly wounded, and taken priſoner, and many officers of diſtinction, were killed on the ſpot. After this, Mithridates, for ſeveral days toge-

the

ther, drew up his army in order of battle, but Lucullus kept in the mountains, and would not march out. Mithridates therefore prepared to march to him, but Lucullus fearing this, removed in the night time, and got to a rising ground near the city of Cabiræ. Mithridates followed him, and encamped at a little distance, but did not chooſe to attack him in his camp.

During this, a party from the king's camp purſuing a deer, cloſe by that of Lucullus, ſome Roman ſoldiers running out, ſtopped the chace. A quarrel enſued, and others coming to the aſſiſtance of their companions, the Romans were forced to give way. Upon this, Lucullus went out alone to meet them, and having ſtopped the foremoſt in the flight, marched back with them againſt the enemy, whom he put to flight, and purſued to the very camp, fighting himſelf in the firſt rank the whole time. When returned to his camp, he took away the arms of thoſe who had fled, and, according to cuſtom, commanded them to dig a trench twelve feet wide, whilſt the reſt of the army ſtood looking at them.

But now the Romans, in their turn, experienced the want of proviſions, which obliged Lucullus to ſend large parties into Cappadocia, to fetch ſupplies. On the frontiers of this country, two of the king's generals were encamped, to prevent the Romans having

any communication with it. Theſe ſuffered Adrianus, with a conſiderable body of foot, to enter Cappadocia, with a view of intercepting them, and their convoy, on their return. But imprudently attacking them in the mountains, inſtead of the plain country, they wanted room for their horſe to engage, and were entirely routed; and then in the plains, a bloody battle enſued, the Romans being reinforced from the camp, and the king's men fighting with equal courage and reſolution, till diſpirited by the flight of their generals. As ſoon as Mithridates heard of this diſaſter, fearing Lucullus, on his return, would attack him, he determined to decamp. He immediately began to ſend away, privately, the moſt valuable goods, which as ſoon as the ſoldiers knew, they were angry at not being acquainted with this reſolution, began to mutiny, plundered their baggage, and killed thoſe who eſcorted them. This done, the ſoldiers precipitately fled, and though the king haſtened to ſtop their flight, they paid no regard to him; and he was thrown down in the croud, and had like to have been trod to death. Having thus loſt his army, he was obliged to fly into Armenia, to his ſon-in-law, Tigranes. His camp was taken and plundered by the Romans; nor had the king eſcaped, if the Romans had not neglected giving over their purſuit of him, through too great

great an eagerneſs to get the treaſures he left behind him.

Mithridates, in his flight, recollecting that he had left his ſiſters, wives, and concubines, at Pharnacia, ſent an eunuch with orders to put them all to death, that they might not fall into the enemies hands; and this ſentence was accordingly executed.

After this, Lucullus took the cities of Pontus; and Triarius entirely defeated the king's fleet, and took, or ſunk, ſixty ſhips. Lucullus having at length reduced all Pontus, and made it a province of the Roman empire, and ſettled all Aſia with excellent laws, ſent Appius Claudius, his wife's brother, embaſſador into Armenia, to demand of Tigranes the delivery of Mithridates, or that he would, upon a refuſal, declare war againſt him. Tigranes had indeed granted him a protection, but would on no account ſee him, as he had loſt his kingdom. He anſwered the embaſſadors, that though he was far from approving of the king's conduct, yet he could not think of giving up one ſo nearly allied to him, and that the world would deſpiſe him if he ſhould deliver up to puniſhment his father-in-law, through fear of an enemy. As ſoon as the embaſſadors were gone, he, for the firſt time, ſent for Mithridates, when it was privately agreed between them two only, that Tigranes ſhould march againſt the Romans, and that Mithridates

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ſhould, with ten thouſand horſe, return into Pontus, and, after levying what forces he could, rejoin Tigranes, before Lucullus, who was then beſieging Sinope, could enter Armenia.

But in the mean time, Sinope having ſurrendered, Lucullus haſtily marched againſt Tigranes, and, having drawn him to a general engagement, entirely defeated his army, before he was joined by Mithridates, who heard of his overthrow, as he was on his march to him. A little after, he met Tigranes flying with a ſmall retinue to ſhelter himſelf in ſome remote parts of his kingdom. But Mithridates perſuaded him to raiſe new forces, not doubting but another campaign would repair all the former loſſes, if he would leave to him the whole management of the war. Tigranes, thinking him more capable of conducting a war againſt the Romans, than himſelf, conſented; raiſed new recruits, whom Mithridates trained up after the Roman diſcipline, during the winter, and in the beginning of ſpring, marched into Pontus, recovered many important places, and, in a pitched battle, defeated Fabius, the governor of that province; but was himſelf afterwards defeated by Triarius.

The next winter, Mithridates raiſed more new forces, and receiving conſiderable ſupplies from Tigranes, marched into the field early in the ſpring, and proffered the Romans, who

who were encamped near Gaziurſa, battle; but Triarius and Sornatius, who had the joint command, refuſed to engage; but the men declaring they would march away, if not led to battle, Triarius was forced to draw them up, though the king's army was three times larger; but a violent ſtorm preſently obliged both armies to return into their tents. Triarius having the ſame day received intelligence of the approach of Lucullus, and fearing he would get the victory from him, reſolved to hazard a battle the next morning. As the attack was haſty and unexpected, the king could only get a few of his troops together, with which he oppoſed the aſſailants, till the reſt of his army came up, when they attacked the enemy with ſuch fury, that the Roman foot gave way, and was driven into a moraſs, where they were ſurrounded, and great numbers of them cut to pieces. Their horſe alſo were put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter, till a Roman centurion, though in the king's ſervice, pitying his countrymen, attempted to kill him. But the king's life was ſaved by his breaſt-plate; but as he received a deep wound in his thigh, he was obliged to drop the purſuit, and the retreat was ſounded, which being unexpected, occaſioned a great confuſion in the army. The centurion was immediately cut to pieces; in the mean time, the Roman horſe getting the ſtart of the enemy, made their eſcape.

The Romans had ſeven thouſand men killed in the battle, among whom were one hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes; being the greateſt number of officers the Romans ever loſt in one engagement till that day.

Mithridates being cured of his wound, to prevent the ſame kind of accident, ordered all the Romans in his army to be aſſembled together, as if for ſome expedition, and then to retire into their tents; whither he ordered them to be followed, and every one maſſacred. Yet the king, though greatly elevated with his ſucceſs, would not attack Lucullus, but haſtened into Armenia Minor, and encamped on a hill near Talura, waiting for Tigranes, who was coming to join him with a ſtrong army. In the mean time, Lucullus purſued him, paſſing over the dead bodies which had fallen in the late engagement, not ſtaying to inter them, which diſguſted his ſoldiers, who became at laſt mutinous, and refuſing to obey him, he was forced to lie inactive the whole ſummer; and complaints being ſent to Rome againſt him, he was recalled, and Pompey appointed in his room *.

As ſoon as Pompey took the command upon him, he ſent propoſals of peace to Mithridates, which being rejected, he marched againſt the king, and beſieged him in his

* Before Chriſt, 67.

camp.

POMPEY.

BRITISH MUSEUM
11 FEB 69

camp. This ſiege having laſted near fifty days, the king's army was reduced to very great ſtraits for want of proviſions, and forced to feed on their dead horſes. Upon this the king determined, at all events, to force his way through the enemy's fortifications; and accordingly, having put to the ſword all thoſe who were ſick or diſabled, that they might not fall into the enemies hands, he, in the dead of the night, attacked the Roman guards, over-powered them with his numbers, and got ſafe into the open fields, and marched all night towards Armenia Minor, where Tigranes expected him.

The next morning, Pompey purſued him, when he overtook him, finding him advantageouſly encamped on a hill; he then privately removed in the night, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all the eminences and paſſes thro' which he knew the king muſt paſs. Mithridates ſuppoſing Lucullus was returned to his former camp, continued his march, and about evening, entered a narrow valley, ſurrounded on all ſides by ſteep hills; on which the Romans were concealed. Pompey would have deferred the engagement till next morning, but was intreated by his officers to make the attack that night. They therefore agreed in the dead of the night to uſe this ſignal, that all the trumpets ſhould at once ſound the charge, followed by an univerſal ſhout of the whole

whole army, and that the ſoldiers ſhould make as great a noiſe, as they could; by ſtriking their ſpears againſt the braſs veſſels uſed in the camp. At this ſudden and unexpected noiſe, which was ecchoed by the mountains, the king's army imagined at firſt, that the Gods themſelves were come down from heaven to deſtroy them. But they ſoon found what kind of enemies they had to deal with, for the Romans charged them on all ſides with ſhowers of ſtones, and arrows, from the tops of he hills, upon this they betook themſelves to a precipitate flight; but finding all the paſſes beſet with ſtrong bodies of horſe and foot, they were forced to fly back into the valley. Here, for many hours they were expoſed to the enemy's ſhot, unable, in their confuſion, to attack the Romans, or even defend themſelves. When the moon aroſe, and gave ſome light, they endeavoured to make a reſiſtance, but the place was ſo narrow that they had not room to draw their ſwords, nor indeed time to draw themſelves up, before the Romans came running down from the hills upon them. As the Romans advanced, the moon ſhining on their backs, and, becauſe ſhe was then in her wane, making their ſhadows appear mighty long, the enemy thereby judging of their nearneſs, diſcharged their darts againſt their ſhadows, and gave the Romans an opportunity

portunity of attacking them unarmed *. The loſs of the king on this occaſion, was, according to Appian, ten thouſand, others ſay, forty thouſand; whilſt the Romans loſt but two centurions, and between twenty and thirty private men.

However, the king with eight hundred horſe, forced himſelf a paſſage through the Roman army, but was afterwards abandoned by all the reſt, and becauſe they were cloſely purſued by the enemy, he travelled all night, attended by his wife, his daughter, and an officer. Very early the next morning, he met a body of mercenary horſe, and three thouſand foot, who were marching to join him. Theſe eſcorted him to the caſtle of Sinoria, ſituated on the borders of the two Armenia's. Out of his great treaſures which he had lodged there, he liberally rewarded thoſe who had attended him in his flight, and then retired into Armenia, taking with him ſix thouſand talents.

He then ſent ambaſſadors to Tigranes, to inform him of his arrival, but as he was then making a ſeparate peace with the Romans, he put his embaſſadors into irons; upon this, Mithridates directing his courſe to Colchis, which was ſubject to him, and not as then attacked by the Romans, and paſſing the

* Florus l. iii.

Euphrates,

Euphrates, got safe into his own country. He afterwards retired into the most remote parts of Scythia. Pompey pursued him, and made several conquests in his way.

Mithridates having lain a long time hid in Scythia, at last returned privately into Pontus, and again appeared at the head of a considerable army. He advanced first to the castle Symphori, and understanding that Strutonix had delivered it up to Pompey, on condition, he would save the life of her son, in case he should take him prisoner, the king immediately caused the youth, he being then in his army, to be put to death, and his body left unburied. Strutonix beheld from the walls, this cruel and unnatural murder, for he was her son by Mithridates, whom he had also faithfully served. The king sent ambassadors, to treat of a peace with Pompey, but he insisting that the king should come in person, as Tigranes had done, the king considered this demand as an indignity offered to him, and therefore prepared for war.

Being now in a condition to act upon the offensive, he proceeded to take several places; many of his subjects rebelling, and his soldiers not behaving obediently, he sent his daughters to invite the Scythian princes to assist him, to come to his relief, and to marry those who complied. His daughters were attended by embassadors; but these being eunuchs, and hateful to the soldiers on that account,

account, they murdered them on the road, and delivered up the princeſſes into the hands of the Romans. Though Mithridates was thus deprived of his children, betrayed by his army, and generally forſaken, yet he could not think of embracing even the honourable conditions of peace offered him by Pompey. He ſtill exerted his utmoſt, to ſtir up the princes of Aſia againſt the Romans, particularly the Parthians; but unſucceſsfully, they being all afraid of Pompey. He then ſent to the European Gauls, hearing they were at war with the Romans, purpoſing to follow himſelf, join the Gauls, and then to paſs the Alps and invade Italy. This was no ſooner known to his men, than they mutinied; at laſt, his favourite ſon Pharnaces, whom he had appointed to ſucceed him, revolted, and was declared king by the army. Mithridates firſt endeavoured to appeaſe the tumult among his men; but in vain; he then endeavoured to move the compaſſion of his ſon, but to as little purpoſe. He then withdrew into the apartments of his wives and concubines, firſt took poiſon himſelf, and then preſented it to them, and to his two favourite daughters. The poiſon immediately deſtroyed the women, but as he had uſed himſelf, from his youth, to poiſonous potions, it operated but ſlowly on him, he therefore, leſt he ſhould fall into the power of the rebels, had recourſe to his ſword. But as he was weakened by

the

the poiſon he had taken, the wound did not prove mortal. In the mean time, the rebels ſtormed the city of Panticapæum, in the Cimmerian Boſphorus, broke into the ho ſe where he was, and found the king wallowing in his blood, but alive, and in his ſenſes, which his ſon Pharnaces hearing, ſent Phyſicians to dreſs his wounds, intending to deliver him up to the Romans, to make his court to Pompey. But a Gaul who entered the room to ſeek for booty, ſeeing him forſaken by all his friends, and ſtruggling with the pangs of death on the bare ground, compaſſionated his great diſtreſs, and with his ſword put an end to his miſerable life, at his own requeſt, and prevented all future inſults that might have been offered to him. Mithridates died in the ſixtieth year of his reign to the inexpreſſible joy of the Romans. His body was given to Pompey, who honoured it with a pompous funeral among his royal predeceſſors at Pontus.

Tully reckons Mithridates the greateſt king after Alexander, that ever ſwayed a ſcepter. He conquered twenty-four nations, and could talk all their various languages. According to Pliny, he not only invented the Mithridate, but other medicines, having extraordinary ſkill in phyſic. But nothing can give us a greater idea of this prince, than the exceſſive joy, even like madneſs, that the Romans manifeſted at his death; notwithſtanding

ſtanding their many victories over him, and the low ebb to which he was reduced, his very name ſeemed to be a terror to them, as long as he lived. Pompey, when he received the news of his death, was ſo impatient to impart it to the ſoldiery, that he could not even wait till a mount of turf was raiſed for him to ſpeak from, as was uſual in camp, but ordered a mount of ſaddles to be inſtantly raiſed, from whence he declared the joyful news, which was received by the army with an univerſal ſhout.

At Rome, the ſenators teſtified their joy for this good news, by appointing twelve days to return thanks to the Gods, at the propoſal of Cicero, then conſul, for their deliverance from ſuch an inſulting, and powerful, enemy. The ſenate alſo enacted a law, whereby Pompey, for his great ſervice in the war againſt Mithridates, was to wear a crown of laurel with the triumphal gown at the Circenſian ſports, and at the ſcenical plays. As to Pharnaces, the ſon of Mithridates, Pompey, as he had ſubmitted himſelf to the Romans, ſettled upon him the kingdom of Boſphorus; thus ended this famous war.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the wars of Pompey *the* Great.

POMPEY the ſon of Cn. Pompeius Strabo *, was born at Rome †, in the ſame year that the famous Cicero was born in the territory of Arpinum, a city of the Volci, and ſix years before Julius Cæſar. Pompey made his firſt campaign under the proconſul his father, when he ſaved him from being aſſaſſinated; but he was ſoon after killed by lightning, whilſt with the army. As he was a very wicked man, capable of the greateſt crimes, and had aſſaſſiated a conſul before the altar, the people looking upon his death as a puniſhment upon him from heaven, dragged his body with an iron hook through all the ſtreets of the city, and then threw it into the Tiber.

During the diviſions that reigned at Rome between Marius and Sylla; Pompey, then

* He was called Strabo, becauſe he ſquinted.

† Before Chriſt, 106, of Rome, 642.

but

but three and twenty years old, prompted by the daily advantages that Sylla gained over the generals of the adverſe party, declared for him. He aſſembled troops in Picenum, where his family had a great many friends and clients, and taking upon him of his own authority, the title of general, obliged moſt of the towns of Picenum to declare for Sylla. His army, though ſmall at firſt, increaſed ſo faſt, that in a little time he had men enough to form three legions; and with theſe, having appointed them their tribunes and centurions, he marched towards Campania to join Sylla.

His march, which was ſignalized by the reduction of many cities, drew upon him three generals, who commanded armies in that neighbourhood, under the conſuls, who agreed to obſtruct his march, by attacking him in different places. Brutus oppoſed firſt, with a conſiderable army, conſiſting chiefly of Gauliſh horſe. But Pompey, at the head of his own cavalry, defeated that of the Gauls, after having killed with his own hand, the Gaul who commanded them. He then attacked the infantry, cut moſt of them in pieces, and forced them to a diſorderly flight; his ſucceſs, which was owing chiefly to his bravery, ſo diſpirited the other two generals, that they quitted the field, and left the country open to him. But Pompey had not advanced far before he was met by the conſul Scipio,

CHAP. III.

Of the wars of Pompey *the* Great.

POMPEY the ſon of Cn. Pompeius Strabo *, was born at Rome †, in the ſame year that the famous Cicero was born in the territory of Arpinum, a city of the Volci, and ſix years before Julius Cæſar. Pompey made his firſt campaign under the proconſul his father, when he ſaved him from being aſſaſſinated; but he was ſoon after killed by lightning, whilſt with the army. As he was a very wicked man, capable of the greateſt crimes, and had aſſaſſinated a conſul before the altar, the people looking upon his death as a puniſhment upon him from heaven, dragged his body with an iron hook through all the ſtreets of the city, and then threw it into the Tiber.

During the diviſions that reigned at Rome between Marius and Sylla; Pompey, then

* He was called Strabo, becauſe he ſquinted.

† Before Chriſt, 106, of Rome, 642.

but

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Scipio, with a new army; but as ſoon as the infantry came in ſight of each other, the conſul's troops deſerted to Pompey, and Scipio was obliged to a ſhameful retreat.

The name of Pompey being now become formidable to the adverſe party, Papirius Carbo, who was then in Gaul, marched with a party of horſe to prevent his joining Sylla. But Pompey having bravely repulſed his horſe as ſoon as they reached the river Æſis, which divides Picenum and Umbria, continued his march, and at laſt got to Sylla's camp, where he was moſt friendly and honourably received. Sylla, delighted with his rehearſal of his exploits, though he had not yet a ſeat in the ſenate, honoured him with the title of imperator *, which the legionaries ſeldom beſtowed on their braveſt generals. The Roman ſenate ſoon after declared Pompey and others

* In the times of the republic of Rome, the title of *Imperator*, was only an occaſional mark of honour which the armies ſometimes beſtowed on their general in their acclamations, and which the ſenate confirmed in favour of thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves by important victories: but under the Cæſars it became a title of ſovereignty. Lypſius ſays, (in Tacit. annal. iii. n. 174) but the title of *Imperator*, when given to a prince, was placed before his name; but put after the name of generals, to whom it was only a tranſient name of honour.

who had joined Sylla, enemies to their country.

Pompey continued his attachment to Sylla, and was very ſucceſsful, but the war being ended in theſe parts, and Sylla maſter of Rome, where he behaved with great tyranny, Pompey marched into Sicily, and ſubdued it, where he ungratefully put Carbo to death, who had been a friend to his father, and had ſaved his eſtate from confiſcation, when he was convicted of having embezzled the publick money; but in other reſpects he behaved with ſo much clemency as to gain the affections of the Sicilians.

Soon after this, Sylla being declared perpetual dictator, and the Marian faction (ſo called from Marius, who was at the head of it) beginning to revive in Africa, Sylla ordered Pompey to quit Sicily, where he had made every thing quiet, and haſten into Africa. He therefore embarked five legions, and, landing in the African province, immediately marched againſt the enemy, who were commanded by Domitius, nephew to the great Marius. As ſoon as the two armies were drawn up in order of battle, a violent ſtorm aroſe, when Domitius, thinking that Pompey would not attack him; ſounded a retreat; but whilſt his troops were diſorderly retreating to their camp, Pompey took the opportunity to attack them, when an obſtinate engagement enſued, which laſted moſt part of the day,

and

and concluded with a complete victory in favour of Pompey. The army of Domitius consisted of twenty thousand men, of whom seventeen thousand were killed on the spot, and the remainder with great difficulty got to their camp. Pompey pursued them, forced their camp, killed Domitius, and took Hiarbias, one of the king's of Numidia, prisoner. He afterwards subdued all the cities of Africa, which had withdrawn themselves from Sylla. He then entered Numidia, and having reduced that part of it, which belonged to his prisoner Hiarbias, gave it to Hiempsal, who had always opposed the Marian party.

This glorious expedition he finished in forty days; but the honour he acquired by it excited the jealousy of Sylla, who ordered him to disband his forces and return to Rome. Pompey at this time was no more than twenty four years of age. The soldiers were much disgusted at this order, and began to mutiny, but the prudence of Pompey appeased them, and having disbanded three of his legions, he returned to Rome. Here he was most friendly received by the dictator, who came out to meet him, embraced him, and honoured him with the surname of *The Great*, ordering all who were present to give him the same title. However, Sylla's jealousy of Pompey was so great, that he with much difficulty consented to his triumph. Sylla some time after resigned the dictatorship, and had the

mortification

mortification, at an election for conſuls, to ſee Pompey oppoſe him, in favour of his own friend Æmilius Lepidus, in oppoſition to his; and ſucceed. But Lepidus afterwards, at the head of an army, endeavouring to force himſelf a ſecond time into the conſulſhip, Catulus and Pompey oppoſed and defeated him.

Sertorius, during the inteſtine wars between Sylla and Marius, having been proſcribed, retired into Spain, and thence made a deſcent into Africa, where he defeated ſucceſſively two generals, whom Sylla had ſent againſt him. He was ſoon after invited into Luſitania, where he was choſen general; and, after having gained ſeveral advantages over the Romans, formed that province into a commonwealth, and civilized, and diſciplined, its inhabitants. Some time after, Sertorius having received 5000 talents, and forty ſhips completely manned, from Mithridates king of Pontus, Pompey the Great was appointed to ſail into Spain to ſuppreſs his overgrown power.

Sertorius therefore, with a very conſiderable army, took the field, to ſtop the progreſs of Pompey, whoſe great fame, founded on many glorious exploits, was likely to injure him much. Upon Pompey's arrival, ſeveral cities, which had till then continued faithful to Sertorius, ſeemed inclined to admit Pompey. Sertorius therefore, to prevent their revolt by ſome ſignal action, and to give them a proof

how little Pompey could do to protect them againſt his great force, entered the province of Hither Spain, which was moſt devoted to the republic of Rome, and laid ſiege to a ſtrong city on the banks of the Turia, then called Lauron, now Liria. Pompey, thinking he was able to raiſe the ſiege, marched quite up to the enemies lines, and concluding he had incloſed them between his own army and the ſea, found means to ſend a meſſenger into the place, to inform the garriſon that he had beſieged the beſiegers, and that the latter would ſoon be forced to a ſhameful retreat. When Sertorius heard of this, he ſmiling, ſaid to his officers: "I will teach Sylla's diſciple," as he in diriſion called him, "that it is the duty of a general to look as well behind him, as before him." And immediately ſent orders to a detachment of ſix thouſand men, who lay concealed among the mountains, to draw near to Pompey, and attack his rear, if he attempted to force the lines. Their ſudden appearance ſurpriſed Pompey, who did not dare to ſtir out of his camp, but was forced to remain inactive, and ſee his friends and confederates ruined before his face. For the beſieged, deſpairing of relief, ſurrendered to Sertorius, who gave them their lives and liberty, but burnt their city, neither from motives of anger, or cruelty, which were foreign from his nature, but to render Pompey contemptible in the eyes of his admirers, by its being ſaid, that though he was

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ſo very near the city, as to be well warmed by the fire that deſtroyed it, that he had not warmth enough in himſelf to reſcue it.

The next ſpring, Sertorius received intelligence that Metellus, another Roman general, had, after an obſtinate engagement, defeated one of his lieutenants in Spain, and killed twenty thouſand of his men, the reſt having with difficulty eſcaped. Upon this he marched with the utmoſt expedition to the banks of the Sucro, in Tarvoconian Spain, to attack Pompey, who, on his part, was as eager to meet him, leſt Metellus ſhould firſt arrive, and deprive him of the glory of gaining a victory. Sertorius conſidering that the darkneſs of the night would be a great diſadvantage to the enemy, whether they gained, or loſt, the battle, as they were unacquainted with the country, deferred coming to an engagement till the evening, and then advanced in order of battle againſt the young hero, whoſe troops were drawn up on the banks of the Sucro. As to Pompey, though he knew the general's reaſons for this procedure, yet ſo great was his fear of being rivalled by the coming of Metellus, that he did not decline the engagement. Both parties began the attack with great bravery, and Pompey, who commanded the right wing, ſoon forced Perpenna, who commanded the left wing, to give way. Upon this, Sertorius quitted his right wing to his lieutenants, haſtened to the aſſiſtance

of the left, and, with threats and promiſes together, brought the flying troops back to the charge, and attacked Pompey with ſo much fury, that, notwithſtanding his utmoſt efforts, he was obliged to retreat. When, as he was flying, an African of a gigantic ſize, cloſely purſued him, and liſted up his arm to ſtrike him with his broad-ſword, but Pompey, who was more active and nimble than the bulky African, ſtruck his head off at one blow. Yet Pompey, as he was wounded and thrown from his horſe, might have been taken, had not the purſuers quarrelled about the rich capariſon, and golden trappings, of his horſe; for while they ſtopped to divide the booty, Pompey made his eſcape, and reached his camp. But tho' Pompey was thus unlucky, Africanus, who commanded the left wing of the Roman army, gained ſo much advantage over the right wing of the enemy, that he put them in diſorder, obliged them to retreat in confuſion, and ſo cloſely purſued them, that he entered their camp with them. But his ſoldiers being too buſy in ſtripping the tents, Sertorius came unexpectedly upon them, at the head of his victorious troops, and recovered his camp. Sertorius, betimes the next morning, drew up his forces in the ſame plain, determined to hazard another battle, and had ſo diſpoſed things, that it might be deciſive; but Metellus coming up in the interim, he drew off his army,

army, and returned to his camp, ſaying, "Had it not been for the old woman," meaning Metellus, "I would have whipped the boy ſoundly, and ſent him back to Rome."

However, he did not think it ſafe to engage the two Roman generals together, and therefore retired at night; and, upon his retreat, Pompey went out to welcome Metellus, who gave him a very hearty reception; they afterwards agreed to follow Sertorious, and attack him. His army was divided into two bodies; one commanded by himſelf, the other by Perpenna. In a few days Metellus attacked Perpenna, and Pompey Sertorius, that he might regain the reputation he had loſt. The action was fierce and obſtinate, during the whole day, but cloſed with the defeat of Pompey, who loſt ſix thouſand men, and was himſelf forced to fly. As to Metellus, he was at firſt more ſucceſsful, killed five thouſand of the enemy, and obliged Perpenna to fly; but Sertorius bringing the runaways back, renewed the battle, forced Metellus to fly in his turn, cut his way through the battalions that ſurrounded him, wounded him with his lance, and, had not his troops, aſhamed to deſert their commander, haſtily returned, would have killed him. They then attacked the Luſitanians who attended Sertorius, and obliged them to

retreat in great diſorder. Sertorius having ſeveral times in vain endeavoured to bring back his men, was forced at laſt to quit the field. To deceive Metellus and Pompey, he retired to a city among the mountains, as if he intended to ſtand a ſiege; though that was not his intention.

Metellus and Pompey quitted the purſuit of the Luſitanians to beſiege the place to which Sertorius had retired; but as they were buſy in ſettling their camp, he made an unexpected rally, and with his troops eſcaped acroſs the mountains into Luſitania, where he collected a number of troops ſufficient to impower him to keep the field. With theſe; and the ſupplies of more men, money, and proviſions, ſent to him from the cities in his intereſt, he again appeared at the head of a great army, and challenged the two generals to a battle, which they prudently declined. However, they could not avoid his continually attacking them, who fell upon them from all quarters, forced them from poſt to poſt, intercepted their convoys, and thereby ſo diſtreſſed them, that Metellus and Pompey at laſt were obliged to ſeparate and retire, the former into Gaul, and the latter in the country of the Vaccæi.

At laſt Sertorius, through the treachery of Perpenna, who envied his great glory, was aſſaſſinated, and the baſe Perpenna got the command

command of the army §. As ſoon as Pompey, who was now in Hither Spain, heard of this, he marched againſt him, and eaſily gained a complete victory over him, and took the treacherous commander priſoner. Pompey immediately ordered Perpenna to be put to death, from this generous and prudent motive, that he might not have time to diſcover any of Sertorius's correſpondents, and give birth to new diſturbances. He alſo ordered as many of the aſſaſſins of Sertorius as he could take, to be put to death. Thus an end was put to the Spaniſh war, which had greatly diſtreſſed the republic of Rome near ten years.

The year after the conſulſhip of Pompey was expired, the ſeas ſwarming with pirates in Italy, Greece, and other parts, he fitted out a vaſt fleet *, ſailed againſt the pirates, and in the ſpace of four months took, or ſunk one thouſand three hundred of their ſhips, cut off ten thouſand of their men, took one hundred and twenty of their ſtrong-holds, and above twenty thouſand priſoners, whom he ſent to re-people the deſerted cities of Cilicia; and for theſe great ſervices the Manilian † law was enacted, by which he was

§ Before Chriſt 73. Of Rome 675.
* Before Chriſt 66. Of Rome 682.
† So called from Manilius the tribune, who propoſed this law in his favour.

conſtituted abſolute governor of all the Roman provinces, armies, and fleets.

The Roman army ſent into Aſia to oppoſe the conqueſts of Mithridates king of Pontus, having mutinied and deſerted from Lucullus, who commanded them, Pompey the Great was ſent thither in his room; but the particulars of this war I have related already at large in the laſt chapter, to which I ſhall therefore refer the reader, only mentioning here that Pompey built the city of Nicopolis on the field of battle where he had defeated the Pontic king, and beſtowed it on his ſoldiers; which city ſoon after became very populous and rich.

Pompey having ſubdued all Pontus, and, being bent on the recovery of Syria, went to Damaſcus, whither the two rival brothers, Ariſtobulus and Hyrcanus, who contended for the kingdom of Judea, ſent each a ſeparate embaſſy, accompanied with ſundry preſents of immenſe value; and, among thoſe of Ariſtobulus's was a coſtly golden vine, upon a ſquare mount, with the fruit on it, and deer, lions, and other beaſts about it, all of the ſame precious metal; it was reckoned worth five thouſand talents. Pompey conveyed it to Rome, and it was depoſited in the temple of Jupiter, in the capitol. Pompey ordered both parties to appear before him, and after a full hearing, deferred giving ſentence till he came into Judea.

dea. Upon this, Ariſtobulus left him in diſpleaſure, and went directly to raiſe an army. Pompey followed him, and upon his arrival at Corea, ſummoned the Jewiſh king to come to him; and, upon his appearing, ordered him to ſurrender all his fortreſſes to him, which Ariſtobulus promiſed to do; but being got away from him, haſtened to Jeruſalem. He, however, ſoon after returned to Pompey, to buy his peace with the promiſe of a vaſt ſum of money. To this Pompey agreed, and, keeping him in his camp, ſent Gabinius with ſome troops to receive the money; but he was repulſed by the gariſon, who ſhut the gates againſt him, and refuſed to comply with the demand. This ſo exaſperated Pompey, that he ordered Ariſtobulus to be kept in chains, and marched with his whole army to the city of Jeruſalem.

Soon after, he was invited into it, and ſent Piſo, one of his generals, with a number of troops, to ſecure the place and the royal palace, while thoſe who were in the temple were buſy in fortifying every part of it that could be of ſervice to them to hold on the ſiege. The city of Jeruſalem was very ſtrong, with reſpect to its ſituation and fortifications, and was at this time well gariſoned, and muſt have been extremely difficult to take; but the defenders were divided into two parties; that for Ariſtobulus were

for ſtanding out to the laſt againſt a general who dared to keep their king in chains; but that for Hyrcanus, which were the more numerous, were, on the contrary, for opening the gates to him, and preventing thereby the ſad effects of a ſiege, and a deſtructive war. The prieſts declared for the former, but the generality of the people were for the latter; ſo that Ariſtobulus's party, finding themſelves overpowered, were forced to retire within the precinct of the temple, breaking down all the bridges between that and the city, that were over the deep valley which parted thoſe two places, before Pompey could be admitted into the latter.

Pompey at firſt offered propoſals of peace to them; but they obſtinately refuſing them, he began a regular ſiege. To prevent them from flying, or receiving any aſſiſtance from without, he raiſed a ſtrong wall round the place; Hyrcanus readily ſupplying him with the materials. Battering rams and other engines being brought from Tyre, Pompey ordered the north-ſide of the temple to be attacked. This was the weakeſt part, though incloſed with ſtrong walls, high towers, and other fortifications, a large deep ditch, and a ſpacious valley. After the bridges were broken down, they were in a manner inacceſſible, as they were very craggy and ſteep. The battering rams were raiſed on mounds and platforms, and began to play briſkly on

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the place, and to fling large ſtones into it, while the beſieged were as induſtrious in levelling the one, and diſmounting the other, as faſt as they were raiſed. Three months had now paſſed ſince the beginning of the ſiege, which probably might have continued much longer, if not have been raiſed, had not the beſieged been ſo ſuperſtitious as to think they ought not to do any thing on the ſabbath-day, to prevent thoſe preparatives which the enemy made towards future aſſaults. For this ſcruple had made now ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that they never moved a hand on the ſabbath-day to prevent mounds and batteries being raiſed, or breaches being made on their wall. The beſiegers, at laſt, having obſerved this, took the advantage of their ſuperſtition, to prepare things for an aſſault on that day; but neither threw ſtones nor any other miſſive weapons, becauſe the Jews thought it lawful to defend themſelves againſt an attack, though, as before obſerved, not againſt any merely preparative works, of the enemy on the ſabbath-day. So great was their zeal for the divine ſervice of the temple, that no annoyance from the enemy could hinder it from being performed with its uſual regularity and calmneſs. Thus the Romans, therefore, had opportunities to make at length ſo deep a breach by playing down one of their towers, which in its fall brought down a conſiderable part of the wall,

that they mastered the place with ease ‡. Cornelius Faustus, the son of Sylla, mounted one end of the breach at the head of a number of troops; Furius the other end; and Fabius in the middle. A horrid slaughter instantly followed, in which twelve thousand of the besieged were killed by the Romans, exclusive of many more who killed themselves. And indeed the contrary faction exceeded even the Romans in cruelty and fury. It is a matter of much admiration, that, during this bloody transaction, the priests never intermitted, no not for a moment, the service of the temple; but continued to offer up their prayers, praises, and sacrifices, with the same composure and attention as if no such slaughter had then been acting in the holy place; and, in the end, suffered themselves to be butchered before the altar, with as much meekness and constancy, as the victims they were then offering upon it §. Pompey, though surprised at their religion and constancy, put all the prisoners to death who were found to have been most zealous against him, while many others destroyed themselves, some throwing themselves down the deepest precipices, and others set their houses on fire, and burnt themselves.

‡ Before Christ 63. § Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv.

Pompey,

Pompey, now in the poſſeſſion of the city, reſtored Hyrcanus to the pontifical dignity, with the empty title of prince, tributary to Rome, forbid to reſume either the diadem, or royal ſtyle, or to extend his territories beyond the old borders of Judæa. The curioſity of Pompey led him to enter the temple, even into the ſanctuary, where he viewed all the ſacred utenſils, but without laying his hands on any of them, and immediately after ordered the prieſts and officers of the temple to purify it, and to offer up their ſacrifices according to cuſtom. Having then diſmantled the metropolis, he left Scaurus governor of Judæa, and marched himſelf into Cilicia; taking the unhappy Ariſtobulus, and his two ſons, Alexander and Antigonus, with two of his daughters, with him, to adorn his triumph; but Alexander was ſo happy as to make his eſcape.

Pompey, in his way to Rome, to prevent all ſuſpicions of his intending to turn his arms againſt his own country, diſbanded his troops as ſoon as he landed at Brunduſium, and proceeded to Rome with as ſmall a train as if he had been returning from a journey of pleaſure. The whole city went out to meet him, and received him with loud acclamations of joy. He demanded, and had, a triumph granted him; which laſted two days, and was by far the moſt magnificent that had ever been ſeen in Rome. Before his chariot

chariot marched three hundred and twenty-four captives of great diſtinction, among whom was Ariſtobulus, late king of Judæa, and his ſon Antigonus; Olthaces, king of Colchis; Tigranes, the ſon of Tigranes, king of Armenia, with his wife and daughters; five ſons and two daughters of Mithridates king of Pontus; and a queen of Scythia. The ſpoils that were carried before him were valued at above three millions ſterling; and the gold and ſilver coin, which he delivered to the quæſtors, amounted to thrice that ſum, beſides large gifts to the ſoldiers. He gave one thouſand five hundred drachmas * to each ſoldier of his army, and rewarded all the officers in proportion. As to the captives, he did not, like other generals, put any of them to death, nor even keep them in priſon, but ſent them all back to their reſpective countries, at the expence of the public, except Ariſtobulus and Tigranes.

As ſoon as the ſolemnity was over, Pompey retired to a private life; and, from a pretended modeſty, declined even the uſe of thoſe titles with which he had been honoured. His aim being to aſſume a ſovereign authority in the ſtate, without appearing to deſire it; but he ſoon found that it was eaſier to give law to ſubalterns in a camp, than,

* Near fifty pounds ſterling.

without

without force, to govern his equals in a ſtate. Sometime after, Pompey, Craſſus, and Julius Cæſar, entered into a confederacy, bound with ſolemn oaths, to aſſiſt each other, and to ſuffer nothing to be undertaken or executed without the unanimous conſent of all three. Thus was the firſt triumvirate formed, by which Rome became a prey to three men, who, by the intereſt of their united parties, arbitrarily diſpoſed of all the dignities and employments in the commonwealth. This confederacy laſted till the death of Craſſus; and in conſequence of it the commonwealth was afterwards totally ſubverted. At length, Craſſus was killed in Parthia, and his whole army cut in pieces. This death gave riſe to a civil war between the two ſurviving triumviri, which ended in the ruin of Pompey, and of the republican ſtate. During the civil wars of Rome *, Pompey was declared general of the commonwealth; ſo that two powerful armies, Cæſar's and Pompey's, were ſeen to take up arms, both pretending to have nothing in view but the defence of their common laws and liberties. Cæſar, when he found he could depend upon his ſoldiers, reſolved to begin hoſtilities without delay; and entering Italy, to make himſelf maſter of Arminium;

* Before Chriſt 49. Of Rome 699.

which

which he ſurpriſed with only one legion; and then ſent orders to his army, which he had left in Gaul, to croſs the mountains and join him. This greatly alarmed Rome and even Pompey; as he had not yet drawn together his troops, who were quartered in different provinces, at ſome diſtance from the capital, he was in no condition to oppoſe Cæſar. Pompey, therefore, having no troops with him, and fearing if he ſhould arm the people, they would declare againſt him, reſolved to retire to Capua, where the two legions were encamped which had ſurrendered to Appius. He acquainted the ſenate with his intention, declaring that if any ſenator or magiſtrate refuſed to follow him, he ſhould be treated as a friend to Cæſar, and an enemy to his country. The conſuls, ſenators, and all the magiſtrates, upon this declaration, haſtily quitted Rome, and attended Pompey to Campania. Cæſar, in the mean time, having taken ſeveral places, and laſtly Corfinium, Pompey thought himſelf no longer ſafe at Capua, and therefore retired to Brunduſium, intending to carry the war into the eaſt, as all the governors there were entirely in his intereſt; thus abandoning Italy to the mercy of his rival, Brunduſium eaſily fell into his hands.

The next year, Pompey having raiſed a powerful army and navy to oppoſe Cæſar, the latter reſolved to follow him into the eaſt, and

and took ſeveral cities, and made ſome freſh overtures of peace to Pompey, which he refuſed. Marc Antony afterwards arriving with ſupplies for Cæſar, he offered Pompey battle; but he refuſing to engage, Cæſar decamped, marched towards Dyrrhachium, as if he intended to ſurpriſe it, then king Pompey conſidering this as a feint, followed Cæſar at ſome diſtance, and ſuffering him to draw near the city, encamped on a hill called Petra, which commanded the city, whence he could be ſupplied with proviſions from Greece and Aſia, while Cæſar was obliged to bring corn by land, at a very great expence, and with much danger, from Epirus. This put Cæſar upon attempting to ſurround Pompey's army, though far more numerous than his own, and by encloſing them in a narrow tract of ground, diſtreſs them as much for want of forage, as he was for want of corn. Accordingly he drew a line of circumvallation from the ſea, quite round Pompey's camp, and kept him ſo cloſely blocked up, that tho' his men were plentifully ſupplied with proviſions by ſea, yet the horſes died, in great numbers, for want of forrage.

Pompey made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to break through the barriers that incloſed him. One time, Pompey himſelf having attacked one of the enemys caſtles, Caſſius Scæva, a ſoldier of fortune, at that time a centurion, moſt extraordinarily diſtinguiſhed himſelf in

in the defence of the caſtle, he, almoſt alone, withſtood the efforts of the enemy, killed many of them, and, though he was wounded on the head, and loſt an eye, and was run quite through the body, yet he maintained the fight, till Sylla, one of Cæſar's lieutenants, brought two legions from the camp to his relief, and then Pompey was forced to retire *. This caſtle was defended by one cohort † only, of the ſixth legion, which held out againſt the utmoſt efforts of Pompey at the head of four complete legions. Every ſoldier of the cohort was wounded, Pompey's men having diſcharged at them, during the attack, above thirty thouſand arrows, of which, the brave Caſſius received two hundred and thirty on his ſhield. Cæſar therefore made him a preſent of two hundred thouſand ſeſterces, raiſed him to the poſt of primipulus, or firſt centurion, of the legion, and allotted the whole cohort double pay, and double allowance of proviſions ever after.

The want of forrage having reduced Pompey to the utmoſt extremity, he determined to force the enemy's lines. He was greatly aſſiſted in this attempt by two brothers, Roſcillus, and Ægus Allobroges, men of great diſtinction in their own country. The

* Cæſar bell. civil. l. iii.

† The tenth part of a legion.

com

commanded the auxiliaries, whom they had brought to the aſſiſtance of Cæſar, but defrauding them of their pay, and uſing them with great rigour, they carried their complaints to Cæſar, who, thereupon, privately reprimanded them. The two chiefs, offended at this diſgrace, took what money and horſes they could along with them, and deſerted to Pompey. As they had narrowly obſerved all Cæſar's circumvallation, and knew the weak parts of it, they directed Pompey in this enterprize, and proved very ſerviceable to him. By their advice and aſſiſtance, Pompey embarked his archers, ſlingers, and light-armed infantry, and marching himſelf by land, at the head of ſixty cohorts, went to attack that part of Cæſar's lines, which was next to the ſea, and not yet quite finiſhed. It was in the dead of the night when he ſet out, and reaching the place deſigned, by day-break, he began the attack at once both by ſea and land. He was vigorouſly reſiſted for ſome time, by the ninth legion, but Pompey's men, who came by ſea, and landed between Cæſar's two lines, attacked them in the rear, and forced them to ſuch a haſty flight, that all the ſuccours Marcellinus ſent them, could not ſtop them. The enſign who carried the Roman eagle at the head of the routed legion, was mortally wounded, but was careful before he died, to give the eagle to the cavalry

of

of his party, desiring them to deliver it to Cæsar. Pompey's men who pursued the run-aways, killed so many of them, that all the centurions of the first cohort were killed, except one.

The army now, like a torrent, poured in upon the posts Cæsar had fortified, and were advancing to take Marcellinus, who guarded a neighbouring fort; but retired upon Marc Antony's coming to his relief with twelve cohorts. And Cæsar, soon after arriving with a strong reinforcement, posted himself on the shore, to prevent such future attempts. He observed from this post, an old camp, which he had made within the place where Pompey was inclosed, but afterwards abandoned. Pompey, upon his quitting it, had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. Cæsar resolved to reduce this post, thinking thereby to repair the loss he had just now sustained, by taking the legion which Pompey had placed there. With this view he marched secretly at the head of thirty-three cohorts, in two lines, and reaching the old camp, before Pompey was aware of his approach, attacked it with great vigour, and notwithstanding the opposition of Titus Pulcio, broke through the first intrenchment, and penetrated to the second, to which the legion had retired.

But now things suddenly changed with Cæsar; his right wing seeking for an entrance

trance into the camp, marched along the outside of a trench, which Cæsar had formerly carried on from the left angle of his camp, about four hundred paces, to a neighbouring river. They mistook this trench for the rampart of the camp, and being led away by that mistake, from their left wing, they were in a little time prevented from rejoining it by the arrival of Pompey, who came up at the head of a legion, and a large body of horse. When the legion, which Cæsar had attacked, resuming their courage, made a brisk sally, drove his men back to the first intrenchment, which they had seized, and while they were endeavouring to pass the ditch, put them in great confusion. In the mean time, Pompey falling upon them with his cavalry in flank, totally defeated them, and then hastening to the enemy's right wing, which had passed the above-mentioned trench, and which was enclosed between that and the ramparts of the old camp, killed vast numbers of them. The trench was soon filled with dead bodies, the disorder being so great, many fell into it, and others passing over them, pressed them to death, who had fallen in alive.

Cæsar exerted his utmost to stop the flight of his legionaries, but in vain; the standard bearers themselves threw down the Roman eagles, when Cæsar attempted to stop them, and left them in the hands of the enemy, who, on this occasion, got thirty-two standards.

ards. Cæsar had never before been so disgraced, and was in danger himself of being killed by one of his own men, for having taken hold of one of them, when flying, and bidding him stand and face about; the man, apprehensive of his own danger, drew his sword, and would have killed him, had not his arm been struck off immediately by one of Cæsar's guards. The loss on Cæsar's side, was nine hundred and sixty of his foot, four hundred of his horse, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions.

Pompey was fearful of some ambuscade, and therefore only pursued the enemy to the gates of the camp, and returned without any further attempts; which caused Cæsar to say, "that he had been left without redress, had Pompey known how to make use of his victory." Cæsar was not discouraged, though greatly mortified, by this loss. He soon after marched into Macedon, and then into Thessaly, and took several towns. At length, Pompey, continually importuned by the senators and officers, quitted his camp at Dyrrachium, and followed Cæsar, determined not to give him battle, but to distress him, by being near enough to streighten his quarters, and cut off his convoys. But as his avoiding the frequent opportunities he had of coming to an engagement, gave offence to his friends, and occasioned much uneasiness among his soldiers, he at last determined to

venture

venture a general action. He therefore marched into a large plain near the cities of Pharſalia and Thebes, ſurrounded by mountains. Pompey, ſtill unwilling to come to an action, encamped on the declivity of a ſteep mountain, in a place altogether inacceſſible. Scipio, his father-in-law, joined him there with the legions he had brought from Syria and Cilicia; yet he continued backward to come to an engagement, thinking it more prudent to deſtroy the enemy by fatigues and wants, than to engage an army of brave veterans, driven in a manner to deſpair. But in a council of war that was held, all declaring in favour of a battle, he was forced to comply, and accordingly prepared for one, as on the next day. Pompey's army conſiſted of forty-five thouſand foot, ſeven thouſand horſe, well mounted and armed; and a great number of dart-men and ſlingers; whereas Cæſar had at moſt but twenty-two thouſand, and a thouſand horſe. This made Pompey's officers ſo confident of victory, that they promiſed themſelves, in conſequence of it, all the great places in the ſtate, and even quarrelled about the diviſion of them.

When the morning came, Pompey aſſembled his troops, made a ſpeech to them, marched into the plain, and both parties having diſpoſed their armies as each thought proper, an engagement followed; the particulars

culars of which, I shall enlarge on in the wars of Cæsar, in the next chapter, and shall only here observe that Cæsar gained a complete victory, and made himself master of Pompey's camp; upon which, Pompey fled, attended by a very few friends, towards the city of Lariſſa, which had hitherto been greatly attached to him. When he was got a little way from his camp, he diſmounted, and as the enemy did not purſue him, walked on leiſurely with his ſmall retinue, contemplating on his preſent ſituation, and how greatly it differed from a paſt life of victory and glory, for thirty-four years together; but now in his old age, making an acquaintance with the calamities of war, ſlaughter and flight. He refuſed the preſſing invitations he received at Lariſſa, to enter that city, leſt he ſhould bring Cæsar's reſentment upon them. He therefore continued his march, fatigued and deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life, to the vale of Tempe in Theſſaly, where, as he was very thirſty, he kneeled down, and drank out of the river which watered that fruitful plain. He then croſſed the valley, and coming to the ſea ſide, paſſed the remainder of the night in a fiſherman's cottage. He had, when he ſet out, put on a proper garment to travel in, having laid aſide all marks of his dignity. By break of day the next morning, he went in a ſmall boat on the river Peneus, and taking his free-

men

man along with him, dismissed his slaves, advising them to go boldly to Cæsar, and not be afraid. As he was going along the shore, he spied a ship of burden riding at anchor, and just ready to set sail. Plutarch * says, that Peticius, the master of the ship, had dreamt the night before, that he saw Pompey in a despicable condition, and that while he was telling his dream to the passengers, one of the mariners acquainted him, that he saw a little boat putting off from the shore, and that the persons in it held out their hands, as if they desired to be taken into his vessel. Hereupon, Peticius, standing up, observed a man in the same dress, in which Pompey had appeared to him in his dream; and not doubting but it was he, expressed with tears his concern for him; and ordering the mariners to let down the ship's boat, he called him by his name, as he drew near, and took him in, and L. Lentulus, who had been consul the year before, P. Lentulus, the senator Favonius, and his attendants, ready to convey him to what part of the world he pleased. He arrived at Lesbos, and sent a messenger to inform his wife Cornelia, of his misfortune, who hastened to the sea side to meet him, when she most passionately exclaiming at their great misfortunes; Pompey is said to have

* In Pomp.

answered her in this sensible manner: "Dear Cornelia, you have been accustomed, hitherto, only to the smiles of fortune, which, perhaps, has deceived you in this, that she has been constant to me beyond her custom, but it behoves us, who are mortals, to bear with these afflictions, and to try our fortune once again: neither ought we to despond; for it is as possible for us to retrieve our former happiness, as it was to fall from it, into our present calamity." The Mitylenians came out to meet him, showed him great respect, and invited him into their city; but Pompey refused their offers for the same reason as he had so done at Larissa; that the citizens might not make Cæsar their enemy, by showing favour to him. Among others, with whom he conversed, was Cratippus, then at Mitylene, and began to repine, and dispute with him concerning the dispensations of Providence; but the philosopher, unwilling to aggravate his sorrow, modestly declined the dispute, persuading him to bear his misfortunes with constancy. But, as Plutarch * very sensibly observes upon this occasion, Cratippus might have easily answered his objections, by showing it was necessary, on account of the disorders which reigned in the republic, that the government

* In Pomp.

should

ſhould be lodged in the hands of a ſingle perſon, and by aſking him, what grounds men had to believe that he, if conqueror, would have uſed his good fortune better than Cæſar. But the diſpenſations of Providence, adds Plutarch, are in the hands of the Supreme Being, and there we muſt leave them.

Afterwards, Pompey took his wife and friends aboard, and, at laſt, after having been greatly divided in his mind, where he ſhould ſeek an aſylum, by the advice of his friend Theophanes, of Mitylene, ſailed for Ægypt, to young Ptolemy his pupil, whoſe father he had lately reſtored to his kingdom, which favour, the young prince had gratefully acknowledged, by ſending him a fleet during his wars with Cæſar. In the mean time, Cæſar purſued Pompey, but the latter arriving in Ægypt firſt, ſent a meſſenger to king Ptolemy, to inform him of his arrival, and to aſk his protection; but the king himſelf, being very young, returned no anſwer. Three of his chief counſellors, and who were his principal directors, took the matter into conſultation, whilſt Pompey was forced to wait the reſult of their deliberations. Two of the counſellors were for receiving Pompey, thinking it would be a reproach to the Ægyptian nation to abandon him in his diſtreſs, who had been ſo great a friend and benefactor to their king; but the third counſellor, Theodotus, determined the matter thus: "If we

receive him," ſaid he, "we ſhall make Cæſar our enemy, and Pompey our maſter: if we diſmiſs him, we ſhall render ourſelves obnoxious to Pompey, for that inhoſpitable expulſion, and to Cæſar, for letting him eſcape." He therefore concluded, "that the ſafeſt expedient was to ſend for him, and put him to death; for by that means they would ingratiate themſelves with the one, and have no reaſon to fear the other;" adding with a villain's ſmile, "A dead man cannot bite."

Accordingly Achillas, another of the counſellors, attended by L. Septimius, formerly a tribune, and Salvius, formerly a centurion in the Roman armies, and three or four officers more, went on board a ſmall galley, and made up towards Pompey's galley; the whole Ægyptian army ſtanding on the ſhore in battle array. The meanneſs of this reception alarmed the friends of Pompey, who, therefore, adviſed him to launch into the main; but Pompey refuſed, and endeavoured to remove their fears. And now the Ægyptian boat drawing near, Septimius ſaluted Pompey in Latin, ſtiling him Imperator; then Achillas complimented him in Greek, and invited him on board the veſſel, telling him, that the ſea was too narrow near the ſhore, for his galley to come near the ſhore with ſafety. Pompey now began himſelf to ſuſpect ſome treachery, but, without ſhowing the leaſt uneaſineſs, he took his leave of his wife Cornelia,

Cornelia, who alſo ſuſpected the worſt. He ordered two centurions, with Philip, one of his freed-men, and his ſlave Scenes, to go firſt on board the Ægyptian boat, and then followed himſelf, repeating, as he went into the boat, to his wife and ſon, theſe iambics of Sophocles:

" He that once falls into a tyrant's pow'r,
" Becomes a ſlave from that deteſted hour.

A profound ſilence being obſerved by all in the boat, and not the leaſt reſpect ſhowed to Pompey, he, to begin a converſation, looking ſtedfaſtly at Septimius, ſaid to him: " Methinks I ſhould know you, friend: have we not been formerly fellow ſoldiers?" But to this, Septimius, without ſhowing the leaſt reſpect to him, only anſwered by a nod.

Pompey therefore, took a little book in his hand, in which he had written a Greek oration, which he deſigned to ſpeak to Ptolemy. As ſoon as he came to the ſhore, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction came running to meet him; Cornelia, who had never loſt ſight of him, ſeeing this, took courage, ſuppoſing they came to conduct him to the king; but as Philip, his freed-man, helped him out of the boat, Septimius coming behind him, ran his ſword through him, and, in the ſame inſtant, Achillas and Salvius fell upon him

with their drawn ſwords; the unhappy Pompey, void of the power of defending himſelf, or of eſcaping, took up his gown with both hands, and covering his face, neither ſaid, nor acted, any thing unworthy of himſelf; but uttering a groan, patiently received, without ſtirring, all their thruſts *. His wife Cornelia, who had continued all the while watching him with her eyes, ſeeing the ſwords of the aſſaſſins glitter about him, gave ſuch a ſhriek, as reached the ears of thoſe on the ſhore. But the mariners on board the galley, ſeeing the Ægyptian fleet under ſail, inſtantly weighed anchor, and with the advantage of a briſk gale, eſcaped with the virtuous Cornelia, and her ſon Sextus, and got ſafe to Cyprus; but ſome of the other veſſels were taken by the Ægyptians, and all their crews inhumanly butchered. Pompey's head was ſtruck off, and embalmed, that it might be preſented to Cæſar; but his body was thrown naked upon the ſhore, and left to public view. Philip ſtayed by it, waiting till the multitude had wearied themſelves with gazing at it; he then waſhed it with ſea water, wrapt it in a garment of his own, and made a funeral pile with ſome rotten planks of a fiſhing-boat. Whilſt he was thus buſied, an old Roman who had ſerved

* Before Chriſt 43, Year of Rome, 705.

under

under Pompey from his youth, came and aſſiſted him in performing the funeral rites, for a hero who had triumphed over three parts of the world, but having unfortunately embarked in a civil war, periſhed in it through his own bad conduct. Cæſar ſoon after arrived in Ægypt, when the head of Pompey was preſented to him wrapt up in a veil, together with his ſeal, on which was engraved a lion holding a ſword in his paw: but the brave Cæſar turned away his eyes from ſo affecting a ſight, with the greateſt horror; and revolving in his mind his former friendſhip for the unhappy deceaſed, the inſtability of human affairs, and thoſe miſeries which often prove the loſs of the greateſt men, burſt into tears, and in an angry tone, bid the meſſenger inſtantly to depart. The ſeal he kept, giving orders to bury the head with great ſolemnity, in the ſuburbs of Alexandria; where he erected a temple to Nemeſis, the Goddeſs of Revenge.

Ptolemy, who had impriſoned a great many of Pompey's friends, reſtored them to their liberty, at the deſire of Cæſar. Cornelia, ſome time after, had the pleaſure of beſtowing of his aſhes as ſhe pleaſed; for they being brought to Rome, were delivered to her, and buried by her, at his country houſe in the neighbourhood of Alba.

CHAP. IV.

Of the wars of Julius Cæsar.

JULIUS Cæsar was born ‡ in the sixth consulship of Marius, and on the twelfth day of the month Quintilis, called afterwards July, in honour of him. As it would be foreign to the design of this work to enter into all the particulars of this hero's life, and the means by which he rose to his vast greatness, I shall mention none but the most extraordinary, or such as may be necessary to understand his warlike exploits hereafter to be recorded.

Sylla, who was a man of great penetration, while he was dictator, being angry, because at his desire, Cæsar would not divorce his wife Cornelia, and some persons interceding with him to excuse the behaviour of Cæsar to him on this occasion, as the sallies of a warm and presumptuous youth, Sylla answered, that he "discovered in him, young as

‡ Before Christ 94. Of Rome 644.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

he was, ſeveral Marius's." Cæſar hearing of this, privately left Rome †, and went to Nicomedes king of Bithynia; and, ſome time after, went and ſerved under Marcus Minutius Thermus, at that time prætor of Aſia. An hiſtorian ‖ ſays, that this general ſent him into Bithynia, and gave him the command of the fleet, which Nicomedes had fitted out to aſſiſt at the ſiege of Mitylene, the only city in Aſia which refuſed to ſubmit to the Romans after the treaty of peace concluded between Mithridates king of Pontus and Sylla. Cæſar diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the taking of this city, and merited ſeveral civic crowns, which were given to thoſe who had ſaved the life of a Roman citizen.

Sylla being dead, and Cæſar returned again to Rome, he began now to ſignalize himſelf at the bar, and applied himſelf to the ſtudy of eloquence. Some time after, he embarked for Rhodes, to ſtudy oratory under Apollonius, one of the greateſt rhetoricians of his time; but ſome pirates, at that time infeſting the ſeas, with a few large ſhips, and a great many ſmall veſſels, he was taken by them in his paſſage. They demanding but twenty talents for his ranſom, Cæſar ſmiled at them, as not underſtanding the value of their priſoner, and of his own accord pro-

† Before Chriſt 79. ‖ Suetonius, in Julio.

miſed them fifty *. He ſent ſeveral of his ſervants to the neighbouring cities to raiſe this ſum, and continued thirty-eight days in the hands of the robbers, with only one friend, and two domeſtics. He amuſed himſelf with the ſtudy of eloquence and poetry, and wrote verſes, and compoſed ſpeeches, which he repeated to the robbers; and thoſe of them who did not admire them he reproached with barbarity and ignorance. Though he converſed familiarly with them, yet he always carried himſelf with a high hand toward them. He often, in raillery, threatened to have them crucified if they diſturbed him when he was diſpoſed to take his reſt. However, the pirates were much pleaſed with his humour, which they aſcribed to ſimplicity and youthfulneſs. The Mileſians, by a tax upon themſelves, raiſed the ranſom, which when Cæſar had paid, he immediately went to Miletus, manned out ſome ſhips, and putting directly to ſea, ſurpriſed the pirates, took moſt of them, and carried them to Pergamus; and, as he had often threatened, ſeemingly in jeſt, crucified them.

He then went to Rhodes, as he at firſt intended. While he remained there, the Bi-

* That is, nine thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven pounds ten ſhillings.

thynians

thynians were upon the point of revolting, as several other cities had done, to Mithridates king of Pontus. As soon as Cæsar heard of this, he crossed over to the continent, raised troops without any commission, and driving the king's emissaries out of the country, kept the disaffected cities steady to their duty. This may be considered as the first essay of this young hero, who already equalled the oldest generals in prudence and bravery, though now but twenty-four years old. Julius Cæsar, having passed thro' the offices of legionary, tribune, and quæstor, was raised to the ædileship §, in which employment he made it his whole business to gain the affections of the people. To this purpose he finished the Appian way ‖, almost at his own expence; he also entertained the people with three hundred gladiators; by which, and other popular acts, he gained the hearts of the Romans, but run himself in debt to the sum of two hundred fifty-one thousand eight hundred seventy and five pounds sterling.

§ Before Christ 65. Year of Rome 683.

‖ Appius Claudius, besides making an aqueduct seven miles long, that supplied Rome with wholesome water, which it wanted before, made a famous road from Rome to Capua, which lasted entire above eight hundred years; it was this road Cæsar repaired.

Some time after, the government of Hither Spain falling to him by lot, he was preparing to ſet out for that province; but being ſtopt by ſome of his creditors, Craſſus, to whom he applied, took upon him to ſatisfy thoſe creditors, who would be put off no longer, and became his ſecurity for eight hundred and thirty talents; that is, one hundred ſixty thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds ſterling. He then ſet out on his journey, in the courſe of which he diſcovered the great ambition of his heart, by an incident too remarkable to be paſſed over in ſilence. As he was croſſing the Alps he paſſed by a ſmall village, thinly inhabited, and thoſe who lived in it wretchedly poor; upon which one of the company jokingly aſked Cæſar, Whether there was any canvaſſing there for offices, or any contention among the barbarians who ſhould be uppermoſt? To this Cæſar ſeriouſly replied, "That he had rather be the firſt man among thoſe barbarians, than the ſecond in Rome."

The reſtleſs ambitious ſpirit of Cæſar did not leave him long idle in his province; for he made war with the innocent Spaniards, and, advancing as far as the ocean, ſubdued ſeveral nations which had never before been ſubject to Rome. After he had ſettled his province in peace he returned to Rome, with money ſufficient to pay his debts, which were no leſs than one million ſix hundred thouſand

thousand pounds sterling; and, in gratitude to Crassus, using his utmost endeavours, reconciled Pompey and him, and joined with them in one common interest; by which means they formed the first triumvirate. Cæsar, by the interest of his two new associates, was chosen consul. Soon after, he proposed the dividing of the lands of Campania, belonging to the republic, among such poor citizens as had three, or more, children; but was strenuously opposed by the senate: upon which he had recourse to the people, and got it passed there without opposition, and afterwards approved by the senate.

The next year *, Cæsar procured the government of Cisalpine Gaul, together with the command of four regiments; and, contrary to the Roman laws, to be secured to him for five years. In the same year, news being brought to Rome, that the Helvetians, having abandoned their country, and burnt down their towns and houses, were preparing to enter Gaul by way of Geneva; Cæsar, whose province Gaul was, found himself obliged to hasten to the defence of it. He made such expedition that in eight days he reached the Rhone. Upon his arrival, he broke down the bridge of Geneva; and, as

* Before Christ 57. Year of Rome 689.

he

he found but one legion in the province, he delayed anſwering the Helvetians, who deſired leave to paſs through the country of the Allobroges, till he had time to ſecure the frontiers of his province, by carrying on a wall from the lake Lemanus, or lake of Geneva, to Mount Jura, now Mont St. Claude, nineteen miles in extent, ſixteen feet high, and defended by a deep ditch, and, at proper diſtances, with caſtles.

At the time appointed, the Helvetian deputies returned for an anſwer, when Cæſar frankly told them, that the Romans never permitted foreign armies to paſs through their countries, and that, if they attempted to force a paſſage, he would repel force with force. The Helvetians, upon this, immediately appeared in a body; when Cæſar, being ſenſible that his troops were too few to reſiſt them, left Labienus, one of his lieutenants, to defend the lines, and haſtened himſelf into Italy, and brought five legions from thence in a ſhort time. Thus reinforced, he attacked the Helvetians, whilſt they were embarraſſed in paſſing the Aras ‡, cut in pieces thoſe who had not yet paſſed the river, and, throwing a bridge over it, advanced againſt the reſt. The Helvetians, being diſheartened at this, ſent deputies to Cæſar,

‡ Now the Saone.

to treat of a peace: but as they refuſed to give hoſtages, he ſent his cavalry to harraſs them on their march. But as they attacked them in the narrow roads, they were repulſed with a great loſs. This revived the ſpirits of the Helvetians, and the Romans began to want proviſions. The Ædui, faithful allies to the Romans, were the only people Cæſar had to rely on for a ſupply of corn. Their country ‡ was extremely fruitful, and capable of ſupporting a far more numerous army than that of the Romans then was. However, Cæſar, to his great ſurpriſe, when he moſt wanted corn found it failed. It ſeems Dumnorix, younger brother to Divitiacus, deſigned to uſurp the ſovereign power, and as the Helvetians had promiſed to aſſiſt him, he had privately removed the corn out of the country, and raiſed the price of it, to famiſh the Roman army. Cæſar, when he had diſcovered this, would have put Dumnorix to death, but ſpared his life at the interceſſion of his brother.

In order to favour the conveyance of the corn, Cæſar moved near to Bibracte, the capital of the Ædui. The Helvetians, on his retreat, purſued and attacked him, and a bloody engagement enſued, which continued

‡ It was ſituated between the Seine, the Loire, and the Soane.

from

from noon to night. Though the Helvetians fought with great bravery, they were at laſt forced to give way, and retire to a hill, where having placed their baggage and women, they made a kind of rampart round them with waggons. Cæſar purſued them, made himſelf maſter of their baggage, and took a great many priſoners; and, among others, the wife and daughter of the famous Orgetonix, the firſt author of this invaſion. The loſs of the Helvetians was no leſs than one hundred and thirty thouſand of their people. Being therefore greatly diſheartened, they implored the clemency of Cæſar, as their beſt reſource, who having obliged them to lay down their arms, and to give hoſtages, ſent them back to their own country, ordering them to rebuild their cities and villages that they had deſtroyed. The Boii only were permitted, at the deſire of the Ædui, to ſettle in Gaul, from whence they formerly came.

The Ædui now implored the protection of Cæſar againſt Arioviſtus, king of the Germans; who, taking advantage of their differences with the Averni, had joined the latter, and took great part of the country of the Sequani, and forced the Ædui to give them their children as hoſtages. Cæſar therefore ſent ambaſſadors to Arioviſtus, deſiring an interview. But he refuſing, Cæſar ſent other deputies, deſiring him to reſtore the Ædui their hoſtages, and to bring no more

more troops over the Rhine into Gaul, reminding him, that it was by his means, during his consulship, that he had been declared a friend and ally of the Roman people. But Arioviſtus having ſent an haughty anſwer, and alſo refuſing to reſtore the hoſtages, Cæſar marched to Veſontio §, the capital of the Sequani, to prevent the king from ſurpriſing it. The terrible accounts which the Romans here received of the formidable ſtature and looks of the Germans, alarmed them. But Cæſar, in a council of war, ſo ſharply reproached them, that they were aſhamed of their weakneſs. He then led them to face the enemy; but when they were within five miles of them, Arioviſtus ſent to deſire an interview, which was agreed to.

The place appointed was a riſing ground, in the midſt of a large plain; here both commanders met, and behaved to each other with great haughtineſs. But whilſt they were treating, the king's horſe drew near to thoſe of Cæſar, and diſcharged a ſhower of darts and ſtones at them. The Romans would have made a proper return, but Cæſar reſtrained them; however, he broke off the conference, but was followed to his camp by the king's deputies, who deſired that ambaſ-

§ Now Beſançon.

ſadors

ſadors might be ſent to Arioviſtus to treat in an amicable manner. Cæſar accordingly ſent ſome; but as ſoon as they arrived in the king's camp, he treated them as ſpies, put them in irons, and, decamping the ſame day, poſted himſelf ſo as to intercept the Roman convoys. Cæſar followed him, drew up his men for five days together in a neighbouring plain, and bid the enemy defiance; but the king kept cloſe in his camp. Cæſar having gained intelligence that the women in the king's camp, who pretended to be propheteſſes, had given out that till the new moon they would not be victorious, he marched all his legions up to the enemy's trenches, and the king was obliged to come to a battle; when moſt of his troops were cut to pieces, and his army entirely defeated. The king himſelf, with much difficulty, eſcaped croſs the Rhine; but two of his wives and one of his daughters were loſt in the flight, and another of his daughters, and ſome Germans of diſtinction were taken priſoners. Cæſar, having thus defeated the Germans, led his troops into winter-quarters.

Cæſar being informed that all the nations of Belgium had conſpired againſt the Romans as a common enemy, raiſed two new legions in Inſubria, repaſſed the Alps early in the ſpring, and joining Labienus, whom he had left in Gaul, began his march, and, in

in fifteen days reached the confines of the Belgæ *.

The army of the Romans, and that of the enemy, continued some days in sight of each other, when Galba (king of the Seussones, now the Soisonnois, to whom the Belgæ had given the chief command of the army) attempted to pass the Axona †; upon which, Cæsar marched his horse and light-armed infantry over the bridge, which he had seized; and attacking the enemy while they were embarrassed in crossing the river, killed such a vast number of them, that the bed of the river was filled up with dead bodies; insomuch, that such of the Belgæ, who escaped the slaughter, marched over them to the opposite bank, and returned into their own country. Cæsar, the next day, appeared before Niviodonum §, a city of the Suessones, when the inhabitants were so terrified with his machines, that they opened their gates to him. He also reduced several other neighbouring nations. But the Nervii ‡, a fierce

* Belgic Gaul comprehended that country which is bounded by the British Ocean on one side, and the river Seine on the other.

† Now the Aisne.

§ Called at present Noyon.

‡ The country they then possessed, is now known by the name of Cambresis.

people,

people, joined the Atrebates and Veromandui, who inhabited the territory of the preſent Arras, and Vermandois, ſecured their wives and children in inacceſſible places, and then the Nervii, who had concealed themſelves in a neighbouring wood, ſallied out upon the Romans, whilſt they where buſy in pitching their camp, and attacked them with inexpreſſible fury. The Romans were in great confuſion and had every thing to prepare. Cæſar running from one place to another, exhorted his men to reſume their former courage, and then, having drawn his troops up in as good order as the hurry would admit, the ſignal to engage was given. The legionaries vigorouſly defended themſelves. The ninth, and tenth, legions, in the left wing, behaved moſt extraordinary well, forced the Atrebates into a neighbouring river, and killed a great number of them; whilſt two other legions drove the Veromandui before them. But the two legions in the left wing were not ſo ſucceſsful; for they were entirely ſurrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions in the fourth cohort being ſlain, and moſt other officers wounded.

When Cæſar, ſeizing the buckler of one of the private men, put himſelf at the head of his broken wing, renewed the attack, and being joined by the two legions he had left to guard the baggage, attacked with freſh vigour the Nervii, who were much fatigued,

and

and made a dreadful slaughter among them. Yet this brave people did not retreat, but as one was killed, another took his place and stood upon his dead body. In this undaunted manner, they bravely defended themselves, and annoyed their enemies till few of them were left; when the conqueror left the old men, with their women and children in the possession of their cities and liberties, upon their surrendering themselves to his mercy.

He next marched against the Advatici, who submitted, and pretended to give up their arms, but, having secreted a third part of them; in the night fell upon the Romans. Cæsar was so enraged at their treachery, that, the next day, he broke down the gates of their city, put a great number of them to the sword, and the rest he sold for slaves, to the number of fifty-three thousand. This victory brought ambassadors from several nations beyond the Rhine, with offers of submission, but as the season was far advanced, he put his troops into winter-quarters, and, repassing the Alps, spent the winter in Insubria. Whilst Cæsar continued in Gaul, the Usipites, and Tenchtheri, being expelled their own country by the Suevi, crossed the Rhine *, designing to settle in Belgic Gaul. Cæsar, therefore marched to oppose them,

* Before Christ, 55.

when

when they ſent deputies to him, offering to join him if he would aſſign them lands; Cæſar anſwered; that there was no room in Gaul for them, but he would deſire the Ubii, the people of Cologne, to give them leave to ſettle in their lands. They then deſired time to treat with the Ubii; and in the mean time, treacherouſly attacked ſome Roman ſquadrons, and killed ſeventy men. Cæſar, provoked at their faithleſneſs, marched unexpectedly againſt them, and as they were indifferently armed, killed a great many of them. The reſt fled in great confuſion, purſued by Cæſar to where the Rhine, and the Maeſe, unite their ſtreams, when the ſlaughter was ſo fiercely renewed, that few perſons eſcaped out of four hundred thouſand. He afterwards built a bridge over the Rhine, with ſuch wonderful expedition, that it was completed in ten days. Cæſar then entered Germany, plundered and ſacked the country of the Sicambri *, terrified the Suevi, making them ſenſible that there was a more formidable nation in the world than themſelves; and then returned into Gaul, and broke down the bridge he had built. This expedition he finiſhed in eighteen days.

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* They poſſeſſed a pretty large territory near the rivers Lyppe and Iſel.

Cæsar having thus reduced all Gaul †, and struck a terror into the German nations bordering on the countries which he had subdued, resolved to pass into Britain, and punish those islanders for sending continual supplies to the Gauls against the Romans. But whether this was really his motive, is hard to say; probably he might be prompted to it by his ambition, and thirst of glory; or according to Suetonius *, to enrich himself with the British pearls ‡. As the summer was already far spent, and winter came on very early in these northern climates, he was sensible, that the time of the year would not allow him to finish the war. However, he thought it would be no small advantage to view the island, to learn the temper, customs, and manners, of the inhabitants, and to get some knowledge of their ports and havens, then visited by none but merchants, who were acquainted with the coast lying over-against Gaul; but seemed utter strangers to the rest of the country: for, being called together by Cæsar from all parts, they could not inform him of what extent the island was; by what nations, and how powerful, it was peopled; how they understood the art of war; by what customs they were governed;

† Before Christ 54. year of Rome 642.
* In Jul. c. 58. ‡ Univ. Hist.

or

or what ports were capable of receiving a fleet of great ſhips.

In order therefore to diſcover what he could not learn of the merchants, he ſent out C. Voluſenus with a galley, injoining him to return as ſoon as poſſible with what intelligence he could get. In the mean time, Cæſar marched all his forces into the country of the Morini, now the province of Picardy, whence was the ſhorteſt paſſage into Britain, ordering at the ſame time all the veſſels that lay in the neighbouring ports, and the fleet, which he had built the year before, for his expedition againſt the Morini, to attend him. The Britons, alarmed at theſe preparations, diſpatched embaſſadors to Cæſar, offering to ſubmit to Rome, and deliver hoſtages for their fidelity. Cæſar received them with great kindneſs; and, having encouraged them with fair promiſes to perſiſt in their reſolution, he ſent them back to their own country, ordering Comius, whom, for his extraordinary wiſdom, virtue, and fidelity, he had made king of the Atrebates, to attend them into Britain, with inſtructions to viſit as many ſtates as he could, to perſuade them to accept of an alliance with Rome, and to acquaint them with his deſign of landing in a ſhort time in their country.

In the mean time Voluſenus, having made what diſcoveries he could from his ſhip (for he did not think it adviſeable to venture aſhore),

BRITISH
11 FEB 69
MUSEUM

An antient British Woman.

ashore), returned after five days to Cæsar, and acquainted him with what he had observed. Hereupon Cæsar, having embarked two legions on board eighty transports, and appointed more, which were wind-bound at a port about eighteen miles off, to convey over the cavalry, weighed anchor about the third watch, commanding the cavalry to imbark at the port, where the vessels lay ready to receive them, and follow him; which orders were too slowly executed. Cæsar himself arrived in a few hours on the British coast; but, finding the hills and cliffs hanging over the sea covered with armed men, who from thence might, with their darts, easily prevent his landing, he lay by till three in the afternoon, waiting for some of his ships that were not yet come up, in order to look out for some other place, where he might land his troops with less danger. Upon their joining the fleet, he summoned the chief officers to a council of war; and having acquainted them with the intelligence he had received from Volusenus, and given them such orders as he thought proper for the occasion, he set sail, and arriving at a plain and open shore about eight miles further, he there came to an anchor.

The Britons, apprised of Cæsar's design, sent their cavalry and chariots before, the rest of the army hastening after them, in order to oppose his landing. The main difficulty in

getting to land, proceeded from the largeneſs of the ſhips, which required a conſiderable depth of water; ſo that the Roman ſoldiers were obliged, loaded as they were with heavy armour, to leap into the ſea, and at the ſame time to ſtruggle with the waves, and encounter the enemy, who, having their hands diſengaged, as they either ſtood on dry land, or waded but a little way into the water, could boldly caſt their darts, and drive back an enemy thus incumbered. This diſadvantage ſo diſcouraged the Romans, as Cæſar himſelf owns, that they did not appear ſo chearful, nor ſo eager to engage the enemy, as in their former conflicts on dry land; which being perceived by the general, he ordered his long ſhips, or gallies, to advance with their broad ſides towards the ſhore, in order to force the Britons, with their ſlings, arrows, and engines, to retire from the water-ſide. This had, in ſome degree, the deſired effect; for the Britons, ſurpriſed at the make of the gallies, a ſort of ſhipping they had never ſeen, and overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts and arrows thence diſcharged upon them, began to give ground. But the Romans ſtill betraying great backwardneſs to throw themſelves into the water, the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, having firſt invoked the Gods, cried out aloud, "Fellow ſoldiers, unleſs you will forſake your colours and ſuffer the Roman Eagle to fall into the hands of the enemy, follow me; for I am reſolved to diſcharge

charge my duty to the commonwealth, and my general." Having thus ſpoken, he leaped into the ſea, and advanced with the eagle towards the enemy. Hereupon the ſoldiers in the ſame ſhip, encouraging each other not to ſuffer ſo great a diſgrace as the loſs of their enſign, followed his example; which thoſe in the other ſhips perceiving, they too caſt themſelves boldly into the ſea, and, preſſing forward, began the fight *, which proved very ſharp on both ſides, and, for ſome time, noways favourable to the Romans; for not being able either to keep their ranks, get firm footing, or, leaping out of ſeveral ſhips, follow their particular ſtandards, they were put into great confuſion by the Britons, who being acquainted with the ſhallows, when they ſaw them coming in ſmall numbers out of their ſhips, ſpurred their horſes into the water, and attacked them incumbered and unprepared; which Cæſar obſerving, he cauſed ſeveral boats to be manned, and ſent them to the aſſiſtance of thoſe whom he ſaw moſt diſtreſſed. By this means, the Romans, having at length gained firm footing, charged the enemy ſo briſkly, that th y put them to flight, but could not purſue them for want of horſe, the cavalry not being yet arrived.

Upon this defeat, the Britons immediately ſent embaſſadors, and with them Comius, whom they had committed to pri-

* Before Chriſt 54. Of Rome 694.

ſon, to ſue for peace. This treatment they endeavoured to excuſe, by laying the blame on the multitude. Cæſar, having upbraided them with their breach of faith, in making war upon him after they had ſent embaſſadors to him into Gaul, deſiring peace, promiſing to forgive them, on condition they delivered a certain number of hoſtages. Part of theſe they brought immediately, promiſing to return in a few days with the reſt, who lived at ſome diſtance. Peace being thus concluded four days after their landing in Britain, the Britiſh princes, having diſbanded their men, and ſent them back into their ſeveral countries, came to ſubmit themſelves and their ſtates to Cæſar. In the mean time the eighteen tranſports, that were conveying over the Roman cavalry, being overtaken by a violent ſtorm, were driven back to the ports of Gaul. By the ſame ſtorm, Cæſar's fleet, which lay in the road, was greatly damaged, ſeveral of them being daſhed to pieces, and others, by the loſs of their anchors, cables, and rigging, rendered wholly uſeleſs; which cauſed a great conſternation in the army; for they wanted materials wherewithal to refit them, in order to return to the continent, and proviſions to ſupport them any conſiderable time in the iſland, Cæſar having all along intended to paſs the winter in Gaul. What added to the misfortune, the ſame night, it being then full moon, the tide roſe

ſo

ſo high, that the gallies which had been drawn aſhore, were filled with water. This cauſed a new panic, the Roman mariners being quite unacquainted with the tides.

The Britiſh chiefs, who were aſſembled to perform their agreement with Cæſar, perceiving his want of horſe, ſhips, and proviſions, and judging of the number of his men from the ſmalneſs of his camp, which was narrower than uſual, becauſe the legions had left their heavy baggage behind them, reſolved to take arms again, in order to protract the war till winter, perſuading themſelves, that if they could cut off the few Romans that were come over, or prevent their return, they would thereby deter others from invading Britain for the future. The plot being thus laid, they began to ſteal out of the camp by degrees, and privately to liſt again their diſbanded troops. Cæſar knew nothing of their deſign; but nevertheleſs, ſuſpecting an alteration from their delay in delivering their hoſtages after the loſs of his ſhipping, reſolved to prepare againſt all events.

Accordingly he cauſed all the proviſions that could be found in the neighbouring country, to be brought into his camp; and gave orders, that thoſe ſhips which had been the leaſt damaged by the ſtorm, ſhould be refitted with the materials of thoſe that had been ſhattered to pieces. He ſent likewiſe to

Gaul for what things were further neceſſary; which were ſo well applied by the ſoldiers, who, on this occaſion, laboured with uncommon diligence, that, only twelve ſhips being loſt, the reſt were ſoon in a condition to put to ſea again.

In the mean time, the ſeventh legion being ſent out to forage, while part of the ſoldiers, having quitted their arms as under no apprehenſion of danger, were employed in reaping the corn, and the reſt in gathering it, and conveying it to the camp, the Britons, who had lain all night concealed in the neighbouring woods, not queſtioning but the Romans would come and forage in that place, the harveſt being brought in everywhere elſe, fell upon them unexpectedly; and, having killed ſome of them, drove the reſt into a ſmall compaſs, and ſurrounded them with their horſe and chariots in ſuch a manner, that not a ſingle man would have eſcaped, had not the advanced guards, obſerving a greater duſt than uſual riſing from that quarter, acquainted Cæſar therewith; who, ſuſpecting the Britons had begun hoſtilities anew, haſtened to the aſſiſtance of the legion, with the two cohorts that were upon guard, ordering two others to ſupply their room, and all the reſt to repair to their arms, and follow him with all expedition. Upon his arrival, the Britons gave over the attack, and the Romans reſumed their courage.

However,

However, Cæsar, not thinking it adviseable to engage the enemy, stood some time with his troops drawn up in battle-array, and then retreated to his camp. After this, the heavy rains, which continued several days successively, kept the Romans in their camp, and hindered the Britons from attempting any thing against them.

The latter, however, were not idle in the mean time; but having dispatched messengers into all parts of the island, to inform their countrymen how small an army the Romans had, how great a booty they might get, and what a favourable opportunity offered of freeing themselves for ever, by forcing the Roman camp, they drew together a great body of horse and foot, and boldly advanced to the Roman intrenchments. Upon their approach, Cæsar drew up his legions in order of battle before the camp, and gave the Britons so warm a reception, that they immediately turned their backs, and fled. Cæsar pursued them with great slaughter, till his men were out of breath, burnt several towns and villages in the neighbourhood, and then returned to his camp. The Britons, disheartened at the loss they had sustained, sent the same day embassadors to sue for peace; which Cæsar readily granted, upon their promising to send him over into Gaul double the number of hostages he had required before.

His want of horſe, and the fear of expoſing his fleet to another ſtorm, if he ſtaid till the equinox, made him haſten his departure. The ſame night therefore, the wind proving favourable, he weighed anchor, and arrived ſafe in Gaul, whence he immediately wrote to the ſenate, acquainting them with his exploits in Britain; for which a ſupplication, or general thankſgiving, was decreed for twenty days.

The Britons, it ſeems, were not much awed by Cæſar's arms; for of all the ſtates, into which the iſland was then divided, two only ſent him hoſtages. Provoked at this neglect, or contempt, he reſolved to make a new deſcent the following ſpring, with a more powerful fleet and army. With this view, before he left Gaul to return to Italy, where he uſed to paſs part of the winter, he ordered his lieutenants to refit the old ſhips, and build as many new ones as they could. His orders were executed with ſuch diligence, that, upon his return, he found ſix hundred ſhips, and twenty-eight gallies, ready to launch in a few days. Having therefore commended the application and diligence of his ſoldiers, and the ſupervifors, he commanded them to repair, with the fleet, to Pontus Itius, while he marched, with four legions, and eight hundred horſe, into Treves, to prevent

prevent a rebellion there*; which he had no ſooner done, than he haſtened to the above-mentioned port; and, leaving Labienus there, with three legions, and two thouſand horſe, to ſecure it, to provide corn, and to ſend him intelligence from time to time of what might happen on the continent, he embarked with five legions, and two thouſand horſe, and, weighing anchor about ſun-ſet, arrived, with his whole fleet, the next day by noon, on the the Britiſh coaſt, where he landed, without oppoſition, in the ſame place, which he had found ſo convenient the year before. The Britons had aſſembled in vaſt multitudes to oppoſe his landing, as he afterwards underſtood from the priſoners; but, being terrified at the ſight of ſo numerous a fleet, amounting, with the veſſels which ſeveral perſons had provided for their own uſe, to eight hundred, and upwards, they had left the ſhore, and retired to the hills. Cæſar, being informed, after landing his troops, where the Britons were lodged, left ten cohorts, and three hundred horſe, to ſecure the fleet, and, with the reſt, marched in queſt of the enemy, whom he found poſted on the other ſide of a river, about twelve miles from the place where he had landed. Their deſign was to oppoſe his paſſage; but,

* Before Chriſt 53. Of Rome 695.

not-

notwithſtanding the advantage of the ground, they were obliged, by the Roman cavalry, to quit their poſt, and retire to a wood, whereof all the avenues were blocked up with huge trees, cut down for that purpoſe. Out of this place, which ſeemed to have been fortified in ſome former war, they never ventured, but in ſmall parties; but, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts to prevent the Romans from entering it, the ſoldiers of the ſeventh legion, having caſt themſelves into a teſtudo, and thrown up a mount againſt their works, obliged them to abandon their aſylum, and ſave themſelves by flight. But, the day being far ſpent, Cæſar, who was quite unacquainted with the country, thought it more adviſeable to return, and fortify his camp, than to purſue the fugitives.

Early next morning, Cæſar diſpatched both his horſe and foot, divided into three bodies, in purſuit of the enemy; but, when he was already come in ſight of the rear, he was acquainted by ſome horſemen from Q. Atrius, that, by a dreadful ſtorm, which had happened the night before, moſt of his ſhips were daſhed to pieces, or driven aſhore. Upon this intelligence, he haſtened back to the ſea-ſide, where he was an eye-witneſs of the misfortune, which he had heard from the meſſengers; for forty ſhips were entirely loſt, and the reſt ſo damaged, that they could not be refitted without great trouble and labour.

However,

However, having, without loſs of time, ſet all the carpenters in the fleet and army to work, and ſent over to Gaul for others, ordering at the ſame time Labienus to build as many ſhips as he could with the legions that were there, to prevent the like misfortune for the future, he reſolved upon a very difficult undertaking; which was, to draw all his ſhips aſhore, and incloſe them within the fortifications of his camp. This ſtupendous work being completed in ten days, the ſoldiers labouring the whole time night and day without intermiſſion, and the camp being ſtrongly fortified, Cæſar, leaving the ſame guard as before to defend it, marched with the reſt of his forces to the place whence he had returned from purſuing the enemy.

Upon his arrival, he found their numbers greatly increaſed, under the conduct of Caſſibelan, king of the Trinobantes, whoſe territories lay about eighty miles from the ſea. He had formerly made war upon his neighbours; but, on the arrival of the Romans, they had all unanimouſly committed the whole management of the war to him, as the moſt proper perſon to head them at ſo important a conjuncture. While the Romans were on their march, they were attacked by the Britiſh horſe and chariots, whom they repulſed with great ſlaughter, and drove into the woods; but, purſuing them too eagerly, they loſt ſome of their own men. Not long

after, the Britons made a ſudden ſally out of the woods, and fell upon the advanced guard, while the Romans were buſied in fortifying their camp. Cæſar immediately detached two cohorts to their aſſiſtance; but the enemy, while the Romans ſtood amazed at their new way of fighting, boldly broke through the two cohorts, and returned again, without the loſs of a man. Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune, was ſlain in this action: but, ſome freſh cohorts coming to the relief of the Romans, the Britons were, in the end, put to flight. The next day, they kept on the hills, at a conſiderable diſtance from the Roman camp, till about noon; when three legions being detached by Cæſar, with all the cavalry, under the command of C. Trebonius, to forage, they fell upon the foragers with great fury; but, meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance, they betook themſelves to flight; and, being purſued by the Roman cavalry ſo cloſe, that they had not time to rally, to make a ſtand, or to get down from their chariots, according to their cuſtom, great numbers of them were cut to pieces. Upon this overthrow, the auxiliary troops that had come from all parts, abandoning Caſſibelan, returned to their reſpective countries: nor did the Britons ever after engage Cæſar with their united force.

After this victory, Cæſar marched towards the Thames, with a deſign to croſs that river, and

and enter the territories of Cassibelan; but, when he came to the only place where the river could, though not without great difficulty, be forded, he saw the enemy's forces drawn up in a considerable body on the opposite bank, which was fortified with sharp stakes. They had likewise driven many stakes of the same kind so deep into the bottom of the river, that their tops were covered with the water. Though Cæsar had intelligence of this from the prisoners and deserters, yet he ordered the cavalry to ride in, and the legions to follow; which they did with such resolution and intrepidity, that, though the foot were up to the chin in water, the enemy, not able to sustain their assault, abandoned the bank, and fled. Polyænus tells us, that Cæsar, on this occasion, made use of the following stratagem: He caused an elephant, covered with iron, having a wooden tower on his back, full of men, to be driven into the river; which unusual sight struck such terror into the Britons, that they abandoned the opposite shore. The stakes are just above Walton in Surry; and the meadow facing them is called Coway. They are even now to be seen at low water; and one of them was lately pulled out of the Thames, but with great difficulty. They are of oak, and, though they have been so long in the water, are as hard as brazil, and

as

as black as jet. At Shepperton they have ſeveral knife-handles made of them.

Caſſibelan, now deſpairing of ſucceſs by a battle, diſbanded the greateſt part of his forces, retaining only about four thouſand chariots, to obſerve the motions of the Romans. With theſe he kept at ſome diſtance in the woods, or in ſuch places as were ſcarce acceſſible to the Romans, carrying off the corn and cattle from thoſe countries through which the Romans were to march. As he was well acquainted with the roads and bye-ways, if the Roman cavalry ventured a little too far to lay the country waſte, he detached part of his chariots to attack them; which they could not engage without great diſadvantage. This prevented the Romans from making excurſions, as they would have otherwiſe done, and obliged Cæſar not to ſuffer his horſe to go further to burn and plunder the country, than the legions were able to follow them.

In the mean time, the Trinobantes ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar, promiſing to ſubmit to him, and, at the ſame time, intreating him to protect Mandubratius againſt the oppreſſion of Caſſibelan, and ſend him to them for their king and governor. Mandubratius, by Eutropius and Bede called Androgeus, was the ſon of Imanuentius king of the Trinobantes; but, upon the death of his father, who was ſlain by Caſſibelan, to avoid the

like

like fate, he had fled to C who had granted him his protection æsar, sar readily complied with the request of the Trinobantes, injoining them to send him forty hostages, and corn for his army; which they did accordingly. The example of the Trinobantes, whose submission secured them from being plundered by the Roman soldiers, was soon followed by other states; to wit, the Cenomagni, Segontiaci, Anaclites, Bibroci, and Cossi §, who, by their ambassadors, submitted to Cæsar. From these he had intelligence, that the town of Cassibelan, supposed to be Verulamium, now St. Albans, well fortified with woods and marshes, whither the country-people had retired with their cattle, was but a little way from his camp. Thither therefore he marched with his le-

§ The Cenomagni, or Iceni, inhabited Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire; and the Cangi, the country lying on the Irish sea. The Segontiaci are placed by some in Berkshire, by others in Hampshire. The city of Segontium, mentioned by Antoninus, stood on the coast of North Wales, over-against the island of Anglesey. The Anaclites and Bibroci are placed by most of our antiquaries in Berkshire, the former about Henley, and the latter about Bray. The Cossi are supposed to have inhabited some part of Hertfordshire, perhaps the hundred of Cashow.

gions;

gions; and, though he found the place ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, he ordered it to be ſtormed at two different places; which was done with ſuch reſolution, that the Britons, not able to ſuſtain the violence of the aſſault, fled out at one of the avenues of the wood (for this town was only a thick wood, ſurrounded with a ditch, and fortified with a rampart). Many of the Britons were overtaken as they attempted to make their eſcape, and cut in pieces. Here Cæſar found great ſtore of cattle.

To repair, in ſome degree, this loſs, and divert Cæſar from purſuing his conqueſts, Caſſibelan, by his meſſengers, perſuaded four petty princes of Kent, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Teximagulus, and Segonax, whom Cæſar ſtiles kings, to raiſe what forces they could, and attack the camp where the ſhips were laid up; but the Romans, having made a ſally, repulſed them with great ſlaughter, took Cingetorix priſoner, and returned, without any loſs, to their trenches. Upon the news of this defeat, Caſſibelan, conſidering the many loſſes he had ſuſtained, how his country was laid waſte, and, above all, that ſeveral ſtates had already ſubmitted to the conqueror, reſolved to follow their example; and accordingly ſent ambaſſadors to treat of a ſurrender, who were introduced by Comius of Attrebatum, or Arras. As the ſummer was already far ſpent, Cæſar, who

was

was determined to winter in Gaul, to prevent ſudden inſurrections there, readily hearkened to their propoſals: ſo that a treaty was ſoon concluded upon the following conditions; to wit, that the Britons ſhould pay an annual tribute to the people of Rome; that Caſſibelan ſhould leave Mandubratius in the quiet poſſeſſion of his dominions, and not moleſt the Trinobantes; and that he ſhould deliver a certain number of hoſtages. Theſe Cæſar no ſooner received, than he marched back to the ſea-ſide, where he cauſed his fleet, which he found refitted, to be launched. As he had a great number of captives, and ſome of his ſhips had been loſt in the ſtorm, he reſolved to tranſport his army at two voyages. But moſt of theſe veſſels, which were ſent back from Gaul after they had landed the ſoldiers that were firſt carried over, and of the ſixty that Labienus had taken care to build, being driven back by contrary winds, Cæſar, after having long expected them in vain, leſt the winter ſhould prevent his voyage, the equinox being near at hand, crouded his ſoldiers cloſer than he deſigned, and putting to ſea with the ſecond watch of the night, reached the continent with his whole fleet by day-break *.

This

* After the departure of Julius Cæſar, the Romans were diverted, for the ſpace of twenty years,

This account is as given by Cæſar ‖; but others ſpeak not ſo confidently of his victories here. According to Tacitus, Cæſar rather ſhowed his countrymen the way to Britain, than put them in poſſeſſion of it. Lucan ſays, he turned his back to the Britons and fled; and Dio Caſſius writes, that the Roman infantry were utterly routed by the Britons; but that the latter afterwards were put into diſorder by the Roman cavalry; and indeed Horace and Tibullus frequently ſpeak of the Britons as then an unconquered people. However, Cæſar, on his return to Rome, offered to Venus a breaſt-plate enriched with Britiſh pearls, as a trophy of his conqueſts in Britain, according to Pliny.

We now, with Cæſar, muſt return to the continent. Craſſus being killed in Parthia, in a battle, his death gave riſe to a civil war, which ſoon after broke out between the two ſurviving triumvirs, Cæſar and Pompey, for the latter would bear no rival, and the former no ſuperior. In the mean time,

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years, by their domeſtic broils, and civil wars, from attempting any thing againſt Britain. During this period the tribute was not paid, nor perhaps demanded; ſo that the Britons continued no leſs free from the Roman yoke, than they had been before the arrival of Cæſar.

‖ Cæſar's Comment. l. v. c. 23.

Cæſar,

Cæsar ‖, who had well nigh reduced the Transalpine Gauls, sent immense sums to Rome, to be distributed among his own friends and partisans, and to the populace, he himself chooſing to winter in Insubria; but the Gauls revolting afresh, soon obliged him to return thither, where he besieged and took Noviodunum, a city of the Bituriges, and defeated Vercingetorix, who came to the relief of the place. He then led his troops against Avaricum, now Bourges, one of the strongest cities in Gaul; took it by storm, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the garrison; and made such a slaughter of the Gallish troops, that scarce eight hundred men escaped out of forty thousand. He then besieged Gergovia, the capital of the Averni. In the mean time the Ædui retook Noviodunum, and in it Cæsar's military chest, killed all the Romans, and set fire to the city; upon which Cæsar marched to Agendicum †; and, at the same time, Labienus, his lieutenant, hastened to the same place, and conducted with great dexterity his march through the enemy's country. But in his way he was vigorously attacked by a Gallish general, but defeated him, and reached Agendicum, where he left

‖ Before Christ 52, of Rome 696.

† Now called Sens.

his

his heavy baggage, and went to meet Cæſar. Notwithſtanding this defeat, almoſt all the nations of Celtic Gaul joined in the revolt; and, having appointed Vercingetorix their generaliſſimo, were bold enough to come and attack Cæſar, but were defeated and obliged to retreat to Aleſia *, whither Cæſar purſued them. Here Vercingetorix, having ſent for new forces, in the mean time ſhut himſelf up in the city, with eighty thouſand men. Cæſar inveſted the place, ſurrounded it with a double fortification, and fortified his camp with all poſſible art and care, in order to reduce the enemy by famine. The garriſon, being very numerous, was ſoon diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and expelled all the uſeleſs mouths. Theſe unhappy people would have ſurrendered themſelves to Cæſar, but he refuſed them, and inhumanly ſuffered them to periſh within the circumvallation. At laſt, the ſuccours expected by the beſieged arrived, conſiſting of ſixty thouſand men, under four Gauliſh generals. They made ſeveral attacks on Cæſar's trenches, and fought three battles, but were always defeated, and repulſed; upon which, Vercingetorix ſurrendered at diſcretion. Cæſar reduced all the Gauls in the place to ſlavery, except the Arverni, and the Ædui,

* Now Aliſe in Burgundy.

whom

whom he ſpared, hoping by this diſtinction to gain over the two chief nations of the Celtic Gauls, and was not diſappointed. Thus ended this campaign, in which he acquired more glory for his conduct and bravery than any Roman commander had ever done before. For this extraordinary ſucceſs, twenty days of public prayers were ordered to return thanks to the gods. The next year, the Gauls revolted again, and were again defeated in ſeveral engagements, and reduced. Cæſar alſo took the ſtrong fortreſs of Uxellodunum, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, and ordered all who were capable to bear arms to have their right-hands cut off; and reduced all Gaul from the Alps and Pirenes to the Rhine. In this, he is ſaid to have ſubdued three hundred different nations, taken eight hundred cities, defeated three million of men, killed one million, and took as many priſoners.

Cæſar then put his troops into different quarters, and himſelf ſpent the winter at Vemetocenna, in the center of Belgium. The next ſpring, he repaired to Ciſalpine Gaul. During the winter, Pompey got the moſt inveterate enemies of Cæſar to be elected into the magiſtracy. Cæſar being appriſed of the cabals formed againſt him, found means, after he had quitted his winter quarters, to purchaſe the friendſhip of Æmilius, the conſul, for one thouſand five hundred

dred talents, and the tribune Curio, for another large ſum. Cæſar, the next year, was declared by the ſenate an enemy to the ſtate if he did not, within a certain time mentioned in the decree, reſign his proconſulſhip; which he refuſed to do, unleſs Pompey alſo laid down his: upon which, the conſuls raiſed a powerful army, the command of which they gave to Pompey, and backed him by this fatal decree: "Let the conſuls for the year, the proconſul Pompey, and all in and near Rome, who have enjoyed the conſulſhip, provide for the public ſafety, by the moſt proper means." Cæſar upon this reſolved to begin hoſtilities, and made himſelf maſter of Arminium, whence he ſent orders to all his Gauliſh troops to repair to him thither; after which he paſſed the Rubicon. The news of this cauſed the utmoſt conſternation at Rome, and greatly alarmed Pompey. Cæſar then ſent Semp. Curio to reduce Sicily, and Valerius to conquer Sardinia; both which iſlands were immediately abandoned to them, the former by Cato, and the latter by Aurelius Cotta. Cæſar having in vain tried to bring Pompey to a reconciliation, ſeized on the public treaſures, and took thence three hundred thouſand pound weight of gold, and went into Spain, in purſuit of Pompey; upon which Cicero, and other Roman ſenators, haſtened thither alſo, to join Pompey, then ſtruggling under

a grievous

a grievous famine. In the mean time, Cæsar drove Afranius and Petreius out of Hither Spain, forced Varro, governor of Further Spain, to surrender his troops, money, &c. to him; then sailed to Marseilles, which immediately surrendered. Cæsar, immediately after, sailed back to Rome; where he got himself declared dictator, by the sole authority of Lepidus, which he, with great moderation, held for eleven days, and then got himself elected consul, together with Servilius Isauricus, who was most strongly attached to his interest. He now resolved to follow Pompey, and carry the war into the east; but as I have already enlarged on what followed between Cæsar and Pompey previous to the battle of Pharsalia, I shall refer my readers to that account †, and proceed, as there promised, to relate the battle of Pharsalia.

When the day came on which the fate of Cæsar and Pompey was to be decided, the latter assembled his troops, and, having first harangued his men, caused the gates of his camp to be opened, and marched out at the head of his army. As to Cæsar, he was so far from expecting to fight that day, that he had already given the signal for decamping, intending to march to Scotusa, his army, for

† See page 87 of this volume.

want

want of forage and proviſions, being reduced to great ſtraits. But as they were buſy in taking down their tents, ſending away their cattle, ſervants, and baggage, before them, they were informed by their ſcouts, that they had ſeen arms carried to and fro in the enemy's camp, and that they had heard a noiſe and buſtle, as of men preparing for battle; and preſently after other ſcouts brought word, that the enemy was marching out of their intrenchments, and that the firſt ranks were already drawn up in the plain.

This news was highly pleaſing to Cæſar, who told his army that "the ſo much wiſhed-for day was come at laſt, when they ſhould fight with men, and not with hunger and famine." He then ordered the red ſtandard, the uſual ſignal of battle among the Romans, to be erected before his tent; upon which the ſoldiers immediately came out of their tents, and, with loud ſhouts of joy, repaired to their arms; and officers and men all took their proper places, without hurry or noiſe. When all were drawn up, he ordered three legions to level the ramparts, and fill up the ditches of the camp, telling his ſoldiers, with great confidence, that "they ſhould lodge that night in Pompey's camp."

The trenches being levelled, he, according to cuſtom, harangued his troops in ſuch a ſpirited manner as could not but have inſpired cowards with courage. He then marched

An antient British Man.

marched into the plain, and by the observations he made on the disposition of the enemy's army, regulated that of his own.

Pompey took his post on the left wing; as his right wing was covered by the Enipeus, he strengthened his left with the slingers, archers, and the seven thousand Roman horse, in whom he greatly confided for success. In the center was Scipio, his father-in-law, with the legions he had brought from Syria, and the reinforcements sent by several kings and states of Asia. In the right, under the command of Afranius, were the Cilician legion, and some cohorts which had served in Spain. The whole army was drawn up in three lines, with very little spaces between them.

The army under Cæsar was drawn up in this manner: The tenth legion, which had always signalized themselves in every action, was posted in the right wing, and the ninth in the left, and the eighth near it. The space between the two wings was filled up with the rest of the army. The left wing was commanded by Marc Antony, and the right by Sylla, and the main body by Cneius Domitius Calvinus; and right over-against Pompey was Cæsar himself, that he might observe all his motions. His army, as well as Pompey's, was drawn up in three lines, but with larger spaces.

These two armies, dressed and armed after the same manner, and both bearing, for their ensigns, the Roman eagles, covered the whole plain from Pharsalia to the river Enipeus. Pompey, as he observed how quietly Cæsar's men waited for the signal to engage, and how confusedly his own men run up and down, was afraid, that on the first onset his own ranks would be broken; and therefore ordered the foot in the front to wait quietly in their ranks till the engagement began. A solemn silence continued in both armies, for some time, though in reach of each other. Nor ought this to be supposed the effect of fear on either side; each party had already, on former occasions, given sufficient proofs of their courage, but they had now enough to affect their minds; fathers were now to fight against their sons; brothers against brothers; and, at least, countrymen against countrymen; for indeed this was no common battle; even the victors must have had their joys mingled with tears. But to fight they met; and at last the trumpets sounded the charge, when Cæsar's army advanced in good order to begin the attack§, encouraged by the example of Caius Crastinus, a centurion, who rushed furiously upon the first line of the enemy, followed by an

§ Before Christ 43. Of Rome 705.

hundred

hundred and twenty men. He thus exerted himſelf, that he might fulfil a ſolemn promiſe that he made to Cæſar *. Having quitted his rank at the firſt ſound of the trumpets, he ran in upon the enemy, at the head of his company, and killed a great many. And ſtill puſhed forward among the enemy, when he was run in at the mouth by one of Pompey's men, with ſo much force that the point of the ſword came out at the hind part of his neck. Pompey's men took courage at his death, and withſtood the enemy's onſet with amazing courage. In the mean time that the foot in the center were ſharply engaged, Pompey's horſe, in the left wing, boldly advanced, and, having widened their ranks that they might ſurround Cæſar's right wing, charged his cavalry, and obliged them to give back, as Cæſar himſelf acknowleges. Cæſar, obſerving this, ordered his horſe to retreat a little, and give way to the ſix cohorts poſted in the rear, who, upon a ſignal given, ad-

* It ſeems Cæſar meeting him as he was going out of his tent in the morning, aſked him, after ſome diſcourſe, "What his opinion was touching the event of the battle?" To which he, ſtretching out his hand, anſwered aloud, "Thine is the victory, Cæſar! thou ſhalt glorioufly conquer; and I myſelf this day be the ſubject of thy praiſe, either dead, or alive."

vanced and charged the enemy's horſe with great reſolution and no leſs good order, aiming only at the faces of their enemy, with great ſucceſs. For the young Patricians *, unwilling to have their handſome faces ſpoiled, turned their backs, and, covering their faces with their hands, abandoned the foot to the mercy of the enemy, and ſhamefully fled. The foot, now naked and unguarded, were ſoon ſurrounded, and almoſt all of them killed. The flower of Pompey's army being thus cut to pieces and forced to fly, he became almoſt diſtracted. Pompey himſelf, at laſt, retreated to his camp, and retired into his tent, and there continued in a ſenſeleſs condition till his whole army was routed and defeated. Plutarch applies to him Homer's deſcription of the flight of Ajax before Hector:

"But partial Jove, eſpouſing Hector's part,
"Shot heaven-bred horror thro' the Grecian's heart.
"Confus'd, unnerv'd, in Hector's preſence grown,
"Amaz'd he ſtood, with terrors not his own.

* Or, as Cæſar contemptuouſly calls them, *The pretty young dancers.*

O'er

" O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,
" And, glaring round, with tardy steps withdrew."

POPE. Iliad xi.

Pompey having thus lost the field, his intrenchments became the next object of attention; thither Cæsar hastened to attack them, before Pompey recovered himself, and indeed this roused him a little; for on Cæsar's approach he cried out, *What! into my camp too!* and then divesting himself of all marks of dignity, put on a habit suitable for travelling, stole privately away, and took the road for Larissa; but of his flight, pursuit by Cæsar, and death, I have already spoke in the last chapter, to which I shall therefore refer my readers *.

The cohorts that Pompey had left to defend the camp, made a vigorous resistance; but being at last overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where Cæsar resolved to invest them. But before he could finish his lines, they being in great want of water, abandoned that post, and retired towards Larissa. Cæsar pursued them at the head of the fourth legion, and, having marched six miles, came up with them. But

* Page 99.

they, unwilling to engage, betook themſelves to a high hill, at the foot of which ran a little river. Notwithſtanding Cæſar's men were faint and weak with the heat and fatigue of the day, yet he prevailed upon them to dig a trench to deprive the enemy of the convenience of the water. This neceſſitated them to throw down their arms, and implore mercy from the conqueror; a few, indeed, of the ſenators took the advantage of the darkneſs of the night to eſcape. The others Cæſar treated with great clemency, prevented their baggage from being plundered, and would not ſuffer the leaſt inſult to be offered to them.

Pompey's party were ſo fooliſhly confident of victory, that they had, before the battle, made extraordinary preparations to celebrate it; inſomuch, that when Cæſar took poſſeſſion of the enemy's camp, he found their tents and pavilions richly ſet out with carpets and hangings, the couches ſtrewed with flowers, the tables ready ſpread, and an abundance of plates, bowls, and glaſſes, and ſome of them even filled with wine, ſet on the ſide-boards. Pompey's letters, which were found in his ſtrong box, Cæſar generouſly burnt unperuſed, that he might not be obliged to puniſh any perſon. Cæſar only loſt two hundred men in the engagement, among whom were thirty centurions, who were buried with great ſolemnity. The aſhes

ashes of the brave Crastinus were deposited in a tomb erected to his memory. But the loss on Pompey's side was far greater, fifteen or five and twenty, thousand men, and an hundred and eighty ensigns; among the dead were found the bodies of ten senators and forty knights. As to the Roman citizens who were taken prisoners, Cæsar immediately set them at liberty.

The pursuit after Pompey having led Cæsar into Ægypt, he took the opportunity to demand of the young king, Ptolemy, the son of Auletes, the money that was due to him from his father; but Photinus, his chief minister, amused him with fair words, till he had raised a mob, which surrounded him with such fury, that he was obliged to retire into the palace. There Cæsar caused the young king and his sister Cleopatra, who contended with him for the crown, to be brought before him, designing to oblige them both to disband their forces; upon which the young and beautiful Cleopatra caused herself to be privately brought to him, and with her charms captivated this great conqueror. The partiality that Cæsar shewed in favour of Cleopatra, so provoked Ptolemy and Photinus, that they besieged Cæsar with twenty thousand Alexandrians; upon which he ordered the ships in the port to be set on fire, which unhappily spreading, consumed

the celebrated Alexandrian library ‡, in which were four hundred thouſand valuable books; after which he put the treacherous Photinus to death for holding a correſpondence with Achillas, who commanded Ptolomy's forces. Ganymedes, the king's eunuch, took the young princeſs Arſinoe to the army, who proclaimed her queen; put Achillas, their general, to death; and placed Ganymedes in his ſtead. They then engaged Cæſar at ſea, but were twice defeated with great loſs; upon which the Alexandrians ſent to demand their king, and offered, on that condition, to forbear all further hoſtilities, to which Cæſar conſented, and ſet him at liberty. But the young king endeavouring ſoon after to intercept Cæſar's convoys, brought on a third engagement, in which the Ægyptians were totally defeated near Canopus, by one of Cæſar's admirals.

The next year, the Jewiſh forces followed Cæſar to Alexandria, engaged Ptolemy who came to meet them, cut off twenty thouſand of his men, and took twelve thouſand priſoners, and the king himſelf was drowned in croſſing the Nile, after a reign of three years and eight months. Cæſar, after this victory, returned to Alexandria, proclaimed Cleopa-

‡ Before Chriſt 48.

tra queen; and obliged her to marry her youngeſt brother, then about eleven years old.

Cæſar was now obliged to quit Ægypt, and march into the north of Aſia, againſt Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Boſphorus, who took the opportunity to attempt the recovery of the dominions of Mithridates, his father, in Aſia. He raiſed a powerful army, paſſed the Euxine ſea, took ſeveral places, particularly all Pontus and Cappadocia. Cæſar, being now reinforced, entered the kingdom of Pontus, and, without loſing the leaſt time, or attending to the propoſals of peace, offered him by the king merely to gain time, marched directly againſt him, attacked him, and gained a complete victory; on which account he wrote his famous laconic letter to his friend Aminitius: VENI, VIDI, VICI, *I came, I ſaw, I conquered*; which words happily expreſs the ſuddenneſs of the victory, being all words of two ſyllables, and having the ſame cadency.

Cæſar after this being returned to Rome, cauſed himſelf to be declared conſul, keeping at the ſame time his dictatorſhip; and now prepared to carry the war into Africa, Pompey's party being ſtill very powerful there. Cæſar, being arrived in Africa, ſummoned Conſidius, the governor of Ardrumetum, to ſurrender the place to him; but Conſidius, truſting to his numerous garriſon of two legions, and three thouſand Mauri-

tanian horſe, killed the meſſenger with his own hand, and marched out to attack Cæſar in the camp, ſet up in haſte; which he therefore thought beſt to abandon, and accordingly retired, in good order, marching along the coaſt towards Ruſpina, a little way off; which he reached with great difficulty, being harraſſed on his march by Confidius. It is ſaid that in this ſkirmiſh thirty Gauliſh horſe, who were in the rear, put two thouſand Mauritanian horſe to flight, and forced them back to the very gates of Ardrumetum.

But not being able to get ſufficient proviſions in the neighbourhood of Ruſpina, he marched to Leptis, a free city, where he was admitted into the city, and ſupplied with ſuch proviſions as could be got for him. But as the enemy had got poſſeſſion of the country, he was ſoon greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; and his horſes were obliged to feed on a ſea-weed mixed with graſs to allay the ſaltneſs of it. His forces being too few to attempt an engagement, he embarked in the night, and ſailed in queſt of his fleet, attended only by a few of his officers. Having met the fleet, he returned back with them to Leptis, and, as ſoon as they had landed, decamped. But he had ſcarcely marched three miles before Labienus, who commanded a numerous body of Roman and Mauritanian forces, ſurrounded him on all ſides, and attacked him with great fury; but

Cæſar's

Cæſar's men repulſed the firſt line of the enemy, and then Cæſar, not thinking it prudent to wait till the firſt line could rally, returned back to his camp in good order. Soon after, both armies being reinforced, Cæſar left Ruſpina, and marched to Utica, when at laſt Juba, king of Mauritania, arrived at the enemy's camp, with eighteen thouſand foot, eight hundred horſe, and thirty elephants. And now the armies commanded by the king, Scipio, and Labienus, in a manner blocked up that of Cæſar's, which was greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, the enemy having laid all the neighbouring country waſte. Cæſar ſoon after received a freſh ſupply of men, and ſeveral times offered the enemy battle, which they declined: he therefore decamped, intending to go and beſiege Thapſus. He was followed by the three generals mentioned above, who ſeparately encamped pretty near him; upon which Cæſar made a haſty march through ſome thick woods; and before Scipio's men could finiſh their camp, fell upon them, and forced them to fly; and then attacked, firſt Labienus's, and afterwards Juba's camp, and killed in all, of the three armies, fifty thouſand men, and loſt himſelf only fifty. Scipio being taken in his flight, killed himſelf; Juba was killed in a ſingle combat, and Labienus only, of all the chief men of Pompey's party, eſcaped and got ſafe into Spain. This vic-

tory was followed with the ſurrender of all Africa to Cæſar, except Utica, where the famous Cato commanded, and had formed, of three hundred Romans who repaired to him, a kind of ſenate. The inhabitants of this city were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation on the news of Cæſar's victory at Thapſus; and ſome of them even mutinied, but Cato at laſt appeaſed, and encouraged, them to ſtand a ſiege. But the ſenate deliberating further upon the matter, the greater part of them were for ſubmitting, and as Cæſar drew nearer, ſome of the ſenators quitted the city, and the reſt appointed Lucius Cæſar, a relation to the conqueror, to interceed for them, and make their ſubmiſſions to him. But Cato, unwilling to truſt to, or owe his life to the conqueror's mercy, run himſelf through with his own ſword, leaving the city in the utmoſt grief for his death; and ſoon after the city ſurrendered to Cæſar. Being now maſter of Utica, and of the whole Roman province in Africa, Cæſar marched into Numidia and Mauritania, and reduced both thoſe kingdoms to Roman provinces, and then repaired again to Utica, which he ordered to be repaired; and ſome time after returned to Rome, when the whole city went out to meet him, and conducted him to the capitol, where he returned thanks to Jupiter for his great and many ſucceſſes. The ſenate and people both ſtrove who ſhould

should be most forward in heaping honours upon him. Cæsar was sensible that these honours flowed not so much from their affections to, as from their fears of, him; however, by his mild and prudent conduct, he soon removed the latter, and gained the former. In consideration of the many conquests he had made, the senate and people united to decree him four triumphs; for his conquest of the Gauls, of Ægypt, of Pharnaces, and lastly of Juba. These he enjoyed in one and the same month. In the first, before his chariots were carried the names of three hundred nations, and eight hundred cities, which he had reduced by the death of a million of enemies, and then the prisoners; afterwards followed his soldiers, crowned with laurel, and the whole city attending with loud acclamations. But the victor had like to have lost his life in the midst of all his glory; for when he was near the temple of Fortune, the axletree of the triumphal chariot breaking down, he had like to have been crushed by the wheels; this retarded the procession till night, when, to remove the inconvenience of the darkness, Cæsar added a new ornament to the procession, causing twenty elephants to be ranged on one side of his chariot, and twenty on the other side, bearing a vast number of flambeaux on their backs, ranged in the form of so many pyramids. The light was so great as almost to

equal

equal that of the ſun; and thus the whole proceſſion, without any accident to itſelf, or to the prodigious croud that attended, reached the capitol. When Cæſar, to ſet the people an example of religion, mounted on his knees the ſteps of the temple. Having offered the uſual ſacrifices, Cæſar viewed the ſtatue, which the ſenate and people had erected to himſelf, near that of the God; but being diſpleaſed at the groſs flattery of the inſcription, TO CÆSAR A DEMIGOD, he ordered it to be immediately cancelled. However, Cæſar during this proceſſion received a very ſenſible mortification; for ſome of the ſoldiers remembering that while he was with Nicomedes IV. king of Bithynia, he was ſuſpected of being too familiarly acquainted with that monarch, ſung ſome of the lampoons and ſevere ſatires made on that occaſion, a liberty allowed at triumphs. Among others were theſe verſes *:

"Cæſar Gallias ſubegit, Nicomedes Cæſarem.
"Ecce, Cæſar nunc triumphat, qui ſubegit Gallias;
"Nicomedes non triumphat, qui ſubegit Cæſarem."

* Suetonius in Cæſar.

In

In the ſecond triumph, that over Ægypt, were carried the pictures of Ptolemy, Photinus, and Achillas, before his chariot, with the repreſentations of ſeveral cities; and before the chariot walked many priſoners of diſtinction, particularly Arſinoe, the ſiſter of Cleopatra, loaded with chains; but after the ſhow ſhe was ſet at liberty, with only this reſtraint, that ſhe ſhould not return into Ægypt. In the third triumph was repreſented the defeat of Pharnaces, king of Pontus, and in the midſt of the ſpoils was carried a table, having on it, in large characters, the famous words, VENI, VIDI, VICI. Among the captives who walked before his chariot, in the fourth triumph, was young Juba, the ſon of king Juba; who was afterwards ſet at liberty, and educated ſuitable to his birth. The veſſels of gold and ſilver carried in theſe triumphs, amounted to ſixty-five thouſand talents †, beſides eighteen hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold, weighing fifteen thouſand and thirty-three pounds; which were preſents that had been made him by princes and cities, as was uſual in thoſe times.

While Cæſar was employed in the uſeful works of peace, the two ſons of Pompey, having aſſembled, beyond the Pyrenees, ſuch

† Or twelve millions ſterling.

of

of their father's party as had eſcaped, made themſelves maſters of a great part of Spain, which obliged Cæſar, now in his fourth conſulſhip, being ſtill dictator, to ſail into Spain to reduce them.

He beſieged the city of Antegua, about ſixteen miles from Corduba, which the republican party had made their ſeat of arms; when the gariſon, moſtly Romans, put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and ſet the city on fire, and then attempted to ſally out, and force Cæſar's lines; but were repulſed with a great ſlaughter. Upon which the commander of the city, who had eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf during the ſiege, ſurrendered the place upon honourable terms. Then Cæſar marched to and ſurpriſed Burſavolis, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to the ſword, for having cruelly maſſacred ſuch of their countrymen as had adviſed them to ſurrender. After this, Cæſar led his victorious troops to ſeek out the enemy, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Ucubis, now Lucubi, in the kingdom of Grenade, and poſted himſelf at a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's camp. This brought on daily ſkirmiſhes, in one of which Cæſar's cavalry being routed, and many of them killed, Pompey was ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that he was determined to riſk a general engagement, and therefore marched towards

wards the city of Hiſpalis †, and from thence to the plains of Munda ‡, where he encamped.

Two days after, Cæſar with his army appeared in the ſame plain. The next morning, by break of day, the enemy, impatient to engage, drew up their army, advantageouſly placed on a riſing ground, defended on one ſide by the city of Munda, and on the other by a ſmall rivulet, ſo that they could only be attacked in the front. Cæſar was no leſs careful in drawing up his troops; and, being a little way advanced from his camp, ordered his army to halt, thinking the enemy would quit the advantageous poſt they poſſeſſed, to come up to him. But as they were more prudent, Cæſar pretended as if he was going to fortify himſelf where he was; when young Pompey, thinking he was afraid of him, came forward, and, before the enemy could ſecure themſelves in their works, attacked them. His army greatly exceeded Cæſar's, conſiſting of thirteen legions, ſix

† Now called Seville.

‡ Munda, according to the ancient maps, was in the province of Bœtica, about twenty miles from Malaga, at preſent known by its ancient name, and no more than a mean village.

thouſand

thouſand horſe, a vaſt body of auxiliaries; among others were all the forces of Bocchus, king of Mauritania, commanded by two valiant youths, his ſons. Cæſar had only eight cohorts, the third, fifth, and tenth legions, and eight thouſand horſe. Cæſar could not help ſhowing a great deal of uneaſineſs and fear, conſidering the forces he had to engage with, knowing the great valour and experience of the enemy, equal to his own, and the tried bravery and conduct of the two Pompey's. But yet determined to put a period to theſe civil wars, by the death of himſelf or his opponents, having given the ſignal to engage *, he, with his accuſtomed bravery and reſolution, attacked the enemy.

The beginning was dreadful, the Romans being left to decide the battle by themſelves; the auxiliaries on both ſides drawing off the moment the engagement began. And now the legionaries in each army engaged with inexpreſſible fury, thoſe of Cæſar animated with the hopes of terminating, by this battle, all their labours, and thoſe of Pompey, ſtimulated by neceſſity and deſpair, as expecting no quarter; having been pardoned after a former defeat. Cæſar's men were attacked with ſo much vigour, that they gave way, and ſhame only prevented their flight. Never

* Before Chriſt, 40. Year of Rome, 708.

was

was Cæsar in so much danger before, and he himself said, after the the battle was over, "I have often fought for victory, but never before to day for life." So fearful was he of the event of the day, that he once was upon the point of stabbing himself. But reflecting that it would be more honourable to die by the hands of the enemy, than by his own, he dismounted his horse, and snatching a buckler from one of his legionaries, rushed like a madman, into the midst of the enemy, crying out to his own men, "Are you not ashamed to deliver your general iuto the hands of boys?" When the tenth legion, encouraged by the example of their general, recovered fresh vigour, and so furiously attacked the enemy, that they killed great numbers of them. Yet the ardour of Pompey's men was not abated, though much fatigued, they kept their ground, and in their turn, charged the enemy with a vigour no way inferior to their own, who now began to despair, and Cæsar, who flew from rank to rank, found it difficult to keep his men from dispersing. The engagement begun at sun rising, and had uninterruptedly continued till sun setting.

And probably Pompey's party had gained the victory, had it not been for an accident. A petty prince of Mauritania, Bogud, had joined Cæsar with some squadrons of horse, a little after his arrival in Spain. But, in the beginning of the battle, being terrified at

at the ſhouting of the ſoldiers, intermingled with groans, and the claſhing of their arms, had quitted his poſt, and retired with his forces to a ſmall diſtance. Where getting on a riſing ground, he remained, an inactive ſpectator of the battle, till evening, when ſhame, and compaſſion for his friend Cæſar, ſpirited him up, and he determined to attack Pompey's camp, and accordingly marched thither with his men. Labienus quitted the battle, to go and defend the camp, upon which Cæſar artfully cried out to his legions, "Courage, fellow-ſoldiers! the victory at length is ours; Labienus flies." This had the deſired effect; for Cæſar's men, believing that Labienus was really fled, took freſh courage, exerted their utmoſt, and charged the wing that Labienus commanded ſo briſkly, that, after a moſt vigorous diſpute, they were forced to fly. But the wing where the elder Pompey commanded, kept their ground ſome time longer, and he quitting his horſe, fought on foot like a private man, in the firſt line; but at laſt, moſt of his men being killed, he was obliged to fly; whilſt part of his men fled to their camp, and the reſt to the city of Munda *. But the former was

* This victory was gained on the 16th of the calends of April; that is, on the 17th day of March.

quickly

quickly taken ſword in hand; as to the latter, Cæſar immediately ordered a line of circumvallation to be drawn round it.

With this memorable battle expired the republic of Rome, and by it, Cæſar was raiſed to the higheſt pitch of glory and honour, which he enjoyed without controul. In this action, Pompey loſt thirty-thouſand men; amongſt others, the famous Labienus, Attius Varus, and three thouſand Roman knights; ſeventeen officers of diſtinction were taken, and all the enemy's eagles and enſigns; and Pompey's faſces, which he had aſſumed as governor of Spain. Cæſar loſt only a thouſand men, beſides five hundred killed.

Cæſar now completed his line about Munda, uſing inſtead of earth, the dead bodies of the enemy, with which the plain was covered, raiſing them up in heaps to the tops of the walls. But this was ſo horrible a ſight to Cæſar, that he committed the carrying on of the ſiege to one of his lieutenants, Fabius Maximus, and, having honourably interred the bodies of Attius Varus, and Labienus, marched to Corduba. The elder Pompey got to his fleet, but was overtaken by Didius, Cæſar's admiral, who burnt ſeveral of his ſhips, and took the reſt; and thus prevented his flight by ſea. Pompey got aſhore, fled croſs the mountains, and upon being purſued, retired into a caſtle with a few troops. This place was ſoon beſieged, and at laſt Pompey

being

being wounded in a ſally he made againſt the enemy, and unable to retreat with the reſt into the caſtle, hid himſelf in a cave: but being baſely betrayed by ſome of his own men, and delivered up to the enemy, he was immediately put to death. As to the younger Pompey, he, upon the defeat of his brother, fled in diſguiſe to Celtiberia, and joining the banditti of that country, ſo effectually concealed himſelf, that Cæſar could never diſcover him. Cæſar, being arrived at Corduba, found it defended by a body of troops that had eſcaped from the battle of Munda; ſoon after Scapula, the governor, deſpairing of keeping the place, gave his friends a grand entertainment; which ended, he put on his beſt clothes, diſtributed his money among his attendants, and then aſcending a funeral pile, ordered one of his catamites to kill him, while another ſet fire to the pile, which quickly conſumed his body to aſhes. But as this city was divided into two factions, one was for ſurrendering, and the other not; but the former being more powerful, prevailed, and ſent deputies to Cæſar, who got poſſeſſion of one of the gates.

Hereupon, the thirteenth legion, which had been always in Pompey's intereſt, ſet fire to the houſes, chooſing rather to periſh, than fall into the hands of the conqueror; upon which a bloody battle enſued between them and Cæſar's men, in which moſt of the legionaries

onaries, with about twelve thousand of the inhabitants were killed. Cæsar, having thus possessed himself of Corduba, marched to Hispalis, now Seville, which readily submitted to him, and at their desire, put a garrison into the place.

But soon after, Pompey's friends privately dispatched Philo with a numerous body of Lusitanians, to the city of Hispalis, where being privately admitted by night, they fell unexpectedly upon Cæsar's garrison, and put them all to the sword. Upon this, Cæsar immediately invested the place, but, in making the lines of circumvallation, left several open places for the Lusitanians to make their escape, lest despair should drive them to set fire to the houses, and demolish the walls. At the same time, he placed squadrons of horse on all the roads that led from the city, ordering them to conceal themselves till the Lusitanians appeared, and then to fall upon them, and give them no quarter. The Lusitanians, having obstinately held out a long time, at last made a sally, and got safe beyond Cæsar's lines, through the open places that had been left for their escape; but while they thought themselves out of danger, they were attacked by Cæsar's horse, and every one of them put to the sword. Cæsar afterwards marched towards Asta, the inhabitants of which sent ambassadors to meet him, and deliver him the keys of their town. Here he received the

news

news of the ſurrender of Munda, after a long and cloſe ſiege, to Fabius, who alſo took Urſaon.

Cæſar having now reduced all the places which had declared for Pompey, and exacted contributions from the Spaniards, retired to Hiſpalis, and then marched to New Spain, and, ſometime after, embarked for Rome, having finiſhed, in ſeven months, an expedition ſcarcely to be credited. In the beginning of October he entered Rome in triumph, and was made conſul and dictator for life. Among other titles, that of imperator, was given him; not in that ſenſe in which it had been formerly beſtowed on generals, after ſome ſignal victory, but as it imported the greateſt power and authority in the commonwealth *. And as we are now come to the concluſion of Cæſar's wars, I might here conclude this chapter, but perhaps ſome ſhort account of the unhappy end of this great hero, may not be unacceptable to my readers.

Though Cæſar had, by many noble and generous acts, gained the love of moſt of the citizens of Rome; yet his ambition offended

* From him was derived the name of imperator, or emperor, and likewiſe that of Cæſar, to his ſucceſſors; and this was the beginning of the imperial ſtate of Rome, though it was not ſettled till ſome years after.

many, and in the end proved his ruin. During a public festival, Marc Antony, his colleague in the consulship, presented to Cæsar, as he was sitting in a golden chair, upon the rostra, a diadem wreathed with laurel, which Cæsar refusing, was applauded by the multitude; Anthony presented it again; he again refused it; when all present, testified anew their satisfaction at his refusal, with loud acclamations. Cæsar, perceiving by this the sentiments of the people, rose up, and ordered the crown to be carried to the capitol, saying, that Jupiter alone was king of the Romans. The next morning Cæsar's statues were found with royal diadems on their heads; but two tribunes of the people, went presently, and not only pulled them off, but caused those to be apprehended, and committed to prison, who the day before had shown their approbation of Antony's presenting the crown to the dictator. But Cæsar was so greatly displeased, that he displaced the tribunes, and while he inveighed against them, abused and ridiculed the people.

This was not the only instance in which he betrayed his inclination to be a king; or at least, so his enemies represented the matter. At last, a conspiracy was formed against him, at the head of which was Brutus, and Cassius. Cæsar had formed vast designs for a new war, particularly against the Parthians, and preparations were actually making for it; when some of his friends pre-

tended that the books of the ſibyls had declared, that the Parthians could never be overcome by the Romans, unleſs they fought under the conduct of a king. Aurelius Cotta, one of Cæſar's creatures, who kept the ſacred volumes, was to make this report out of them to the ſenate, and to propoſe, that Cæſar ſhould not only be ſtiled dictator in Italy. but that he ſhould be acknowledged as king, and take upon him that title, with reſpect to all foreign nations ſubject to the republic.

For this purpoſe, the ſenate was to meet on the ides of March *. The conſpirators fixed upon the ſame day, as the moſt proper to execute their deſign, as Cæſar was ſure to be then at the ſenate, and becauſe it would be ſafer to fall upon him there, moſt of the ſenators being ſecretly his enemies; whereas in any other place, the populace might have reſcued him. Many ſtrange prodigies and apparitions, are ſaid to have preſaged the death of Cæſar, inſomuch that his courage ſeems to have wavered; and he once had ſome thoughts of not going to the ſenate, but as moſt of his troops were already embarked, and he himſelf was to leave Rome in four days, he could not come to any fixed reſolution; but remained in ſuſpence, till the ſenate began to aſſemble in the hall, one of

* Before Chriſt 39. Year of Rome 709.

the

the many edifices which Pompey had raiſed for the uſe of the public. *. However, Cæſar, at laſt, being over-perſuaded, ſet out for the ſenate; as he paſſed along, a rhetorician, named Artemidorus, delivered him a paper containing the names of the conſpirators, ſaying at the ſame time, "Read this, Cæſar, quickly, for it contains affairs of the greateſt importance, and ſuch as concern you nearly." Cæſar attempted ſeveral times to read it, but was prevented by the continual croud about him.

When he was got into the great hall and ſeated; the conſpirators crouded round him, under pretence of joining their ſupplications in favour of one Cimber's brother, who was baniſhed, and taking him by the hand, kiſſed it, ſeemingly with great reſpect. But the dictator rejected their petition; and upon their urging him further, and growing ſtill more importunate, he reprimanded them ſeverely, and afterwards, riſing up, puſhed them from him. Hereupon Cimber, laying hold of Cæſar's robe with both hands, pulled it off from his ſhoulders, which was the ſignal agreed upon to fall upon him. Servilius Caſca, who ſtood behind him, immediately drawing his dagger, gave him the firſt wound in the neck,

* Plutarch from hence concludes, that ſome deity guided this affair, and brought Cæſar thither, to revenge upon him the death of Pompey.

which was neither mortal nor dangerous. Cæsar instantly turning about, seized Casca by the hand which held the dagger, both of them crying out at the same time; Cæsar in Latin, *Wicked Casca, what dost thou mean?* and Casca calling to his brother in Greek, to come and help him. The surprise of his friends was so great, that they neither attempted to assist him, nor even to speak. And now the conspirators surrounded him on all sides with their daggers, and Cassius giving him a deep wound in the head; and all, contending for the glory of killing him, were so eager to stab him, that they wounded one another. The unhappy conqueror fought and defended himself as well as he could, till seeing Brutus with his dagger in his hand, he was stung to the heart, and struggled no more; but, crying out, "What! my son Brutus, and thou too!" covered his face with his robe, and quietly surrendered himself. When the conspirators pushed him, by chance, or by design, to the pedastal on which Pompey's statue stood, which by this means was sprinkled with his blood; and there dispatched him with twenty-three wounds, the senate beholding this bloody scene, with horror and amazement, not one daring to give him the least assistance. As his strength failed, he wrapt his garments about his knees, that he might fall with decency; and thus expired. He was perhaps the greatest warrior

warrior that ever lived; he had gained fifty battles, taken above a thouſand towns, and ſlain eleven hundred two thouſand men *.

CHAP. V.

Miſcellaneous battles, and ſieges.

AS it is impoſſible in the compaſs of this work to ſpeak of every ſiege and battle, nor indeed are all ſufficiently entertaining; a great number therefore muſt be neceſſarily paſſed over in ſilence; and indeed of many of them, hiſtory affords us very few particulars. Of thoſe of the greateſt importance, a proper notice has already been taken as far as this work hath extended: the next that merits our attention is:

The ſiege of Jeruſalem *by* Titus.

Veſpaſian was making preparations to beſiege Jeruſalem, when he received the news of his being elected emperor; upon which,

* Pliny, l. vii. c. 25.

intending to go to Rome, he left the beſt of his troops with his ſon Titus, with orders to go and beſiege Jeruſalem, and deſtroy it utterly. The city of Jeruſalem, was unhappily divided and torn to pieces by three factions which tyrannized in it at the time that Titus marched his army againſt it. He had, beſides the three legions which had ſerved under his father, the fifth, which had formerly been ſeverely handled by the Jews, and now burned with revenge. Beſides theſe, Agrippus and Soemus who were with him; Antiochus, and ſome allied cities had furniſhed him with twenty regiments of foot, and eight of horſe, beſides vaſt numbers of Arabs, and a choice number of perſons of diſtinction from Italy, and other places, who came to ſignalize themſelves under his ſtandards. The fifth legion, Titus ordered to take the road of Emmaus, the tenth, that of Jericho, the other two legions marched after him in the following order: the auxiliaries marched firſt, and were followed by the pioneers, whoſe buſineſs it was to level the ground as they went. After them came the general quarter-maſters, who marked out their encampments, and were followed by the baggage of the chiefs of the army, under a ſufficient eſcort. Titus came next, attended by his guard, and a ſelect number of troops, followed by a body of horſe, who marched juſt before the warlike engines; and after

after theſe came the tribunes, and chiefs of the cohorts, attended by a choſen number of troops. Then appeared the Roman eagle, ſurrounded with the enſigns of the ſeveral legions, and preceded by a number of trumpets ſounding, and followed by the main body, which marched in rank and file, ſix in a front. Laſtly, came the ſuttlers, handicrafts, &c. attended by a ſtrong guard of ſoldiers, who cloſed the whole march. In this order, they came to Gophra, which had a Roman garriſon; and on the next day to Gibeath-Saul, about thirty ſtades, or three miles and a half from Jeruſalem *. It was now in the beginning of April, and near the feaſt of the paſſover, to which there was a greater reſort of Jews this year, than had ever been known, even from the Euphrates. For it ſeems, the chief of the Jews, in Palæſtine, had written to invite all their brethren, every-where, not doubting but their preſence, and great concourſe, would contribute to quell the factions within the city, as well as oppoſe the Romans without.

But it ſeems as if they were directed thither by the hand of Providence, to ſuffer the puniſhment of their ſins, the bulk of the nation being there ſhut up, as it were, in a priſon, to add to the calamity of the deſtroy-

* Joſephus, Bell. Jud. l. vi. c. 1.

ing ſword, the dreadful plagues of famine and peſtilence, which ſhortly after devoured them.

Joſephus ſays, eleven hundred thouſand died during the ſiege. They neither wanted arms, warlike engines, men, courage, or any thing but experience, to make a brave defence; but this was made up by invincible obſtinacy and deſpair. Their city was ſtrongly ſituated by nature, ſurrounded with three ſtout walls, and many ſtately, and ſtrong towers. The circuit of the city was thirty-three ſtades, or four thouſand one hundred, and twenty geometric paces, that is, near four of our miles. Beſides theſe vaſt fortifications, there were ſeveral other caſtles of extraordinary ſtrength. The temple ſtill exceeded all the reſt in ſtrength, both for its ſituation, its walls, towers, and other buildings; and was at leaſt equal to the beſt citadels then in being. But when God is pleaſed to viſit for ſin, he can weaken the ſtrength, and turn into folly the wiſdom of man! And never was this more fully verified than in the preſent caſe of the Jews.

Titus, being advanced ſo near the city *, went attended only with ſix hundred horſe, to reconnoitre its ſtrength and avenues, flattering himſelf that the peaceable part of the

* Year of Chriſt, 73.

Jews,

A German mounted on a Shield and proclaimed General by the Voices of the Multitude.

BRITISH
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Jews would open their gates to him, but the factious made a ſally and ſurrounded him, in a narrow file, and he narrowly eſcaped being killed, or taken. He then drew his army nearer to the city, to beſiege it in form. The three factions within the city, united againſt the common enemy; but ſoon after, on the fourteenth of April, which was uſhering in the paſſover, the faction of John of Giſchala, treacherouſly murdered thoſe of Eleazar; and thus reduced the factions to two, that of Eleazar, and Simon, who at times fought againſt the enemy, and at other times againſt each other. In the mean time, Titus beſieged the city in form. He twice made them offers of peace, firſt by Joſephus, and then by him and Nicanor, but they being obſtinately refuſed, the Romans began to play their engines againſt the city with great vigour; and the Jews plied their machines upon the walls, with the utmoſt fury. But the Roman legions made a terrible havock with their towers and machines. The leaſt ſtones they threw were near an hundred weight; and theſe they could throw the length of two ſtades, or two hundred and fifty paces, and with ſuch a force, that they could ſtill do miſchief on thoſe that ſtood at ſome diſtance behind them. Titus had reared three towers fifty cubits high on the terrace above-mentioned; one of which happening to fall in the middle of the night,

greatly alarmed the Roman camp, who immediately ran to arms at the noiſe of it; but Titus, upon knowing the cauſe, diſmiſſed them, and cauſed it to be ſet up again. Theſe towers, being plated with iron, the Jews tried in vain to ſet fire to them, but were at length forced to retire out of the reach of their ſhot; by which the battering-rams were now at full liberty to play againſt the wall. A breach was ſoon made in it, at which the Romans entered; and the Jews, abandoning this laſt incloſure, retired behind the next. This happened about the twenty-eighth of April, a fortnight after the beginning of the ſiege.

John defended the temple, and the caſtle of Antonia, and Simon the reſt of the city. Titus marched cloſe to the ſecond wall, and plied his battering-rams againſt it ſo furiouſly that one of the towers, which looked towards the north, gave a prodigious ſhake. The men who were in it made a ſignal to the Romans, as if they would ſurrender; and, at the ſame time, ſent Simon word to be ready to give them a warm reception. Titus, having diſcovered their ſtratagem, plied his work more furiouſly, whilſt the Jews who were in the tower, ſet it on fire, and flung themſelves into the flames. The tower being fallen, gave them an entrance into the ſecond incloſure, five days after the gaining the firſt; and Titus, who was bent on

on ſaving the city, would not ſuffer any part of the wall, or ſtreets, to be demoliſhed; which left the breach and lanes ſo narrow, that when his men were furiouſly repulſed by Simon, they had not room enough to make a quick retreat, ſo that there was a number of them killed in it. This overſight was quickly rectified, and the attack renewed with ſuch vigour, that the place was carried four days after their firſt repulſe.

The famine raging in a terrible manner in the city, was ſoon followed by a peſtilence; and as theſe two dreadful judgments increaſed, ſo did the rage of the factions. They forced their houſes, and, if they found any victuals in them, they butchered them for not appriſing them of it; and, if they found nothing but bare walls, which was almoſt every where the caſe, they put them to the moſt ſevere tortures, under pretence that they had ſome proviſion concealed.

Titus, who knew their miſerable condition, and was ſtill willing to ſpare them, gave them four days to cool. Joſephus was ſent to ſpeak to them afreſh, and to exhort them not to run themſelves into an inevitable ruin, by obſtinately perſiſting in the defence of a place, which could hold out but a very little while, and which the Romans looked upon already as their own. This ſtubborn people, after many a bitter invective, began to dart their arrows at him: at which,

not at all diſcouraged, he went on with greater vehemence; but all the effect it wrought on them, was only that it prevailed on great numbers to ſteal away privately to the Romans, whilſt the reſt became only the more deſperate and reſolute to hold out to the laſt, in ſpite of Titus's merciful offers.

To haſten, therefore, their deſtined ruin, he cauſed the city to be ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, to prevent either their receiving any ſuccours, or proviſion, from abroad, or their eſcaping his reſentment by flight. There was now nothing to be ſeen through the ſtreets of Jeruſalem but heaps of dead bodies rotting above-ground, walking ſkeletons, and dying wretches. As many as were caught by the Romans in their ſallies, Titus cauſed to be crucified in ſight of the town, to inject a terror among the reſt; but the zealots gave it out, that they were thoſe who fled to him for protection; which when Titus underſtood, he ſent a priſoner, with his hands cut off, to undeceive and aſſure them, that he ſpared all who voluntarily came over to him; which encouraged great numbers to accept his offers, though the avenues were cloſely guarded by the factious, who put all to death who were caught going on that errand. A greater miſchief than that was, that even thoſe who eſcaped ſafe to the Roman camp were miſerably butchered by the ſoldiers, from a notion which theſe had taken,

taken, that they had ſwallowed great quantities of gold; inſomuch that two thouſand of them were ripped up in one night, to come at their ſuppoſed treaſure. When Titus was appriſed of this barbarity, he would have condemned all thoſe butchering wretches to death; but they proved ſo numerous, that he was forced to ſpare them, and contented himſelf with ſending a proclamation through his camp, that as many as ſhould be ſuſpected thenceforward of that horrid villainy, ſhould be put to immediate death; yet did not this deter many of them from it, only they did it more privately than before; ſo greedy were they of that bewitching metal. All this while the defection increaſed ſtill more, through the inhumanity of the factions within, who made the miſeries and dying groans of their ſtarving brethren the ſubject of their cruel mirth, and carried their barbarity even to the ſheathing of their ſwords in ſport on thoſe poor wretches, under pretence of trying their ſharpneſs.

When they found, therefore, that neither their guards nor ſeverities could prevent the peoples flight, they had recourſe to another ſtratagem, equally impious and cruel; which was, to hire a pack of vile pretenders to prophecy, to go about and encourage the deſpairing remains of the people to expect a ſpeedy and miraculous deliverance; and this impoſture proved a greater expe-

dient

dient with that infatuated nation, than their other precautions. It was upon this ſad and pinching juncture that an unhappy mother was reduced to the extremity of butchering and eating her own child.

Titus, at the very firſt hearing of this inhuman deed, ſwore the total extirpation of city and people; taking Heaven to witneſs, that he was innocent of all thoſe horrid calamities which that infatuated nation had brought upon themſelves, and might have prevented by a timely ſubmiſſion.

This dreadful action happened about the end of July, by which time the Romans, having purſued their attacks with freſh vigour, made themſelves maſters of the fortreſs Antonia; which obliged the Jews to ſet fire to thoſe ſtately galleries, which joined it to the temple, leſt they ſhould afford an eaſy paſſage to the beſiegers into this laſt. About the ſame time Titus, with much difficulty, got materials for raiſing new mounds and terraces, in order to haſten the ſiege, and ſave, if poſſible, the ſad remains of that once glorious ſtructure; but his pity proved ſtill worſe and worſe beſtowed on thoſe obſtinate wretches, who only became the more furious and deſperate by it. Titus at length cauſed fire to be ſet to the gates, after having had a very bloody encounter, in which his men were repulſed with loſs. The Jews were ſo terrified at it, that they ſuffered themſelves

to

to be devoured by the flames without putting an helping hand, either to extinguiſh them, or ſave themſelves. All this while Joſephus did not ceaſe exhorting them to ſurrender, and to aſſure them, that it was out of his mere compaſſion to them, that he thus hazarded his own life to ſave theirs: he received one day ſuch a wound in his head by a ſtone from the battlements, as laid him for dead on the ground. The Jews ſallied out immediately to have ſeized on his body; but the Romans proved too quick and ſtrong for them, and carried him off.

By this time the two factions within, but eſpecially that of John, having plundered rich and poor of all they had, fell foul alſo on the treaſury of the temple, whence John took a great quantity of the golden utenſils he found there, together with thoſe magnificent gifts that had been preſented to that ſacred place by the Jewiſh kings, by Auguſtus, Livia, and many other foreign princes, and melted them for his own uſe. The repoſitories of the ſacred oil, which was to maintain the lamps, and of the wine, which was reſerved to accompany the uſual ſacrifices, were likewiſe ſeized upon, and turned into common uſe; and the laſt of this to ſuch exceſs, as to make himſelf and his party drunk with it.

Joſephus was ſent for the laſt time, to upbraid his obſtinately expoſing that ſacred building, and the miſerable remains of God's people,

people, to ſudden and ſure deſtruction; he only anſwered him with the bittereſt invectives, adding, that he was defending the Lord's vineyard, which he was ſure could not be taken by any human force. However, a great number of people were ſo moved by Joſephus's diſcourſe, that they fled preſently after to the Romans. Titus gave them a gracious reception.

It was on the ſeventeenth day of July, as all Joſephus's copies have it, that the daily ſacrifices ceaſed, for the firſt time ſince its reſtoration by the brave Maccabitiſh chief, there being no proper perſon left in the temple to offer it up. Titus cauſed the factious to be ſeverely upbraided for it; exhorted John to ſet up whom he would to perform that office, rather than ſuffer the ſervice of God to be ſet aſide; and then challenged him and his party to come out of the temple, and fight on a more proper ground, and thereby ſave that ſacred edifice from the fury of the Roman troops. When nothing could prevail on them, they began to ſet fire again to the gallery that yielded a communication between the temple and the caſtle Antonia.

On the twenty-ſeventh of July, the Jews, having filled part of the weſtern portico with combuſtible matter, made a kind of flight, upon which ſome of the forwardeſt of the Romans having ſcaled up to the top, the Jews ſet fire to it, which flamed with ſuch ſudden

ſudden fury, that many of them were conſumed in it, and the reſt, venturing to jump down from the battlements, were cruſhed to death.

On the very next day, Titus having ſet fire to the north gallery, which incloſed the outer court of the temple, from fort Antonia to the valley of Cedron, got an eaſy admittance into it, and forced the beſiged into that of the prieſts. He tried in vain ſix days to batter down one of the galleries of that precinct with an helepolis: he was forced to mount his battering-rams on the terrace, which was raiſed by this time; and yet the ſtrength of this wall was ſuch, that it eluded the force of theſe alſo, though others of his troops were buſy in ſapping it. When they found that neither rams nor ſapping could gain ground, they bethought themſelves of ſcaling; but were vigorouſly repulſed in the attempt, with the loſs of ſome ſtandards, and a number of men. When Titus therefore found, that his deſire of ſaving that building was like to coſt ſo many lives, he ſet fire to the gates, which, being plated with ſilver, burnt all that night, whilſt the metal dropped down in the melting. The flame ſoon communicated itſelf to the porticoes and galleries, which the beſiged beheld without offering to ſtop it, but contented themſelves with ſending whole vollies of impotent curſes againſt the Romans. This was done on the eighth of Auguſt, and on the

the next day Titus gave orders to extinguiſh the fire.

The next day, Auguſt the 10th, was therefore determined for a general aſſault; and the night before the Jews made two deſperate ſallies on the Romans; in the laſt of which, theſe, being timely ſuccoured by Titus, beat them back into their incloſure.

One of the Roman ſoldiers, of his own accord, took up a blazing fire-brand, and getting on his comrade's ſhoulders, threw it into one of the apartments that ſurrounded the ſanctuary, through a window, and immediately ſet the whole north-ſide on a flame up to the third ſtory, in the ſecond year of Veſpaſian, the twenty-firſt of king Agrippa, and on the ſame fatal day and month in which it had been formerly burnt by Nebuchadnezzar. Titus, who was gone to reſt himſelf awhile in his pavilion, was awaked at the noiſe, and ran immediately to give orders to have the fire extinguiſhed. When Titus obſerved, that all his endeavours were vain, he entered into the ſanctuary, and the moſt holy place, in which he found ſtill ſuch rich and ſumptuous utenſils, and other riches, as even exceeded all that had been told him of it. Upon his coming out of that ſacred place, ſome other ſoldiers ſet fire to it, and obliged thoſe that had ſtaid behind, to come out; they all fell foul on the plunder of it, tearing

tearing even the gold plating off the gates and timber-work, and carried off all the coſtly utenſils, robes, &c. they found in it, inſomuch that there was not one of them that did not enrich himſelf by it.

An horrid maſſacre followed ſoon after, in which a great many thouſands periſhed; ſome by the flames, others by the fall from the battlements, and a greater number by the enemy's ſword, which deſtroyed all it met with, without diſtinction of age, ſex or quality. Some of them remained five whole days on the top of the walls, and afterwards threw themſelves on the general's mercy; but were anſwered, that they had out-ſtaid the time, and were led to execution. They carried their fury to the burning of all the treaſure-houſes of the place, though they were full of the richeſt furniture, plate, veſtments, and other things of value, which had been laid up in thoſe places for ſecurity. In a word, they did not ceaſe burning and butchering, till they had deſtroyed all, except two of the temple-gates, and that part of the court which was deſtined for the women.

In the mean time the ſeditious having made ſuch a vigorous puſh, that they eſcaped the fury of the Romans, at leaſt for the preſent, and retired into the city; they found all the avenues of it ſo well guarded every-where, that there was no poſſibility left for them to get out; which obliged them to ſecure themſelves

ſelves as well as they could on the ſouth-ſide of it, from whence Simon, and John of Giſchala, ſent to deſire a parly with Titus. They were anſwered, that though they had been the cauſe of all this bloodſhed and ruin, yet they ſhould have their lives ſpared, if they laid down their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. To that they replied, that they had engaged themſelves, by the moſt ſolemn oaths, never to ſurrender; and therefore only begged leave to retire into the mountains with their wives and children: which inſolence ſo exaſperated the Roman general, that he cauſed an herald to bid them ſtand to their defence; for that not one of them ſhould be ſpared, ſince they had rejected his laſt offers of pardon. Immediately after this, he abandoned the city to the fury of his ſoldiers, who fell forthwith on plundering it, ſetting fire every-where, and murdering all that fell into their hands; whilſt the factious, who were left, went and fortified themſelves in the royal palace, where they killed eight thouſand Jews who had taken refuge there.

In the mean time, great preparations were making for a vigorous attack on the upper city, eſpecially on the royal palace; and this took them up from the twentieth of Auguſt to the ſeventh of September; during which time, great numbers came and made their ſubmiſſion to Titus. By this time, the warlike engines played ſo furiouſly on the factious

tious, that they were taken with a ſudden panic; they ran like madmen towards Siloah, with a deſign to have attacked the wall of circumvallation, and to have eſcaped out of the city; but, being there repulſed, they were forced to go and hide themſelves in the public ſinks, and common ſewers, ſome one way, and ſome another. All the reſt the Romans could find were put to the ſword, and the city ſet on fire. This was on the eighth of September, when the city was taken and entered by Titus. He would have put an end to the maſſacre; but his men killed all, except the moſt vigorous, whom they ſhut up in the porch of the women.

A computation of all that periſhed in the ſeveral places throughout the kingdom, and out of it, from the beginning to the concluſion of the war, at one view.

At Jeruſalem by Florus's orders	630
By the inhabitants of Cæſarea in hatred to the Jews	20,000
At Scythopolis in Syria	30,000
By the inhabitants of Aſcalon in Palæſtine	2,500
By thoſe of Ptolemais	2,000
At Alexandria in Ægypt, under Alexander, an apoſtate Jew	50,000
At Damaſcus	10,000

At

At the taking of Joppa	8,400
In the mountain of Cabulo	2,000
In a fight at Aſcalon	10,000
In an ambuſh	8,000
At the taking of Aphek	15,000
Upon mount Garizzim	11,600
Drowned at Joppa by a ſudden ſtorm	4,200
Slain at Tarichæa	6,500
Slain, or killed themſelves at Gamala, where none were ſaved but two ſiſters	9,000
Killed in their flight from Giſchala	2,000
At the ſiege of Jotapa, where Joſephus commanded	30,000
Of the Gadarenes beſides vaſt numbers that drowned themſelves	13,000
In the villages of Idumea	10,000
At Geraſium	1,000
At Machæron	1,700
In the deſert of Jardes	3,000
Slew themſelves at Maſſada	960
In Cyrene by the governor Catulus	3,000
Periſhed at Jeruſalem by ſword, famine, and peſtilence, and during the ſiege	1100,000
Doomed to captivity	97,000
	Periſhed

Periſhed through the neglect of their keepers, or their own ſullen deſpair	11,000
The whole amounting to	1,445,490

In this account is omitted a vaſt multitude that died in the caves, woods, wilderneſſes, common ſewers, in baniſhment, and many other ways, of whom no computation could be made. Whilſt the ſoldiers were buſy in burning the remains of the city, and viſiting all the ſinks, jakes, and common-ſewers, where they found, and killed, numbers of other poor creatures who had hid themſelves, Simon and John, the heads of the two different factions, were found; in this manner: John being pinched with hunger, came out firſt; and, having begged his life, was condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Simon, who had made a better proviſion, held out till towards the end of October, when neceſſity forced him out. He appeared on a ſudden on the ruins of the temple, dreſſed in a white robe, and a purple cloak. He was ſeized and ſent to Titus, who was now in Cæſarea, and he and Simon, attended his triumph. And now the city was entirely razed to the ground, according to the expreſs predicton of Chriſt; nothing being left but a piece of the weſtern wall, and three towers, the

the former to ſerve as a rampart to the tenth legion, which Titus left there, and the three latter, that future ages might conceive ſome idea of the ſtrength of the city, and of the ingenuity, and valour, of the conqueror. Titus, in his return through this place to Alexandria, to embark for Rome, viewing the dreadful devaſtation that had been made, of this once famous, and ancient city, could not refrain from ſhedding tears, and curſing thoſe who, by their obſtinacy, had forced him to the dreadful neceſſity of thus deſtroying it. In ſhort, the deſtruction of the Jews, and their city, and eſpecially of their temple, is found moſt perfectly to have anſwered to the predictions delivered long before by Chriſt.

The ſiege and taking of Rome *by the* Goths.

ALARIC king of the Goths, after having two, or three times, invaded Italy, and being as often repulſed, at laſt, unexpectedly paſſed the Alps, and, breaking into Noricum, threatened to invade Italy, and lay all waſte before him, unleſs a certain ſum which he pretended to be due to him, and his troops, was immediately ſent to him. Upon this demand, Honorius, then emperor of Rome, aſſembled the ſenate, and after ſome very warm debates, it was agreed, that four thouſand pounds weight of gold, ſhould be ſent to Alaric. Stilicho, who was at this time

the

the Roman general, and guardian to Honorius, and who was ſuppoſed to be ſecretly in the intereſt of Alaric, was the occaſion of this imprudent compliance; which, as one of the ſenators juſtly obſerved, was not buying of a peace, but ſigning a contract of ſlavery.

Stilicho dying juſt after, the Roman ſoldiers, quartered in the cities of Italy, hearing of the death of Stilicho, flew to their arms, and out of hatred to him, inhumanly murdered the wives and children of the barbarians, whom he had taken into the ſervice, and whom they, on that account, looked upon as privy to his deſigns, and as public enemies. The barbarians, juſtly provoked at this horrid act of cruelty, vowed revenge; and, quitting the emperor's ſervice, retired, to the number of thirty thouſand, and upwards, to Alaric, who, though thus reinforced, ſent deputies to Honorius, offering to conclude a laſting peace with him, and never more to diſturb the tranquility of the empire, in caſe he would ſend him a ſufficient ſum to pay his armies their arrears. But Honorius refuſed to comply with his demand: Alaric ſent to his brother-in-law, Ataulphus, in Pannonia, to haſten to him with the troops he had ſent to him, conſiſting of Goths, and Huns. As to Alaric, he advanced with long marches from Noricum, croſſed the river Po without oppo-

ſition; and marched in ſight of Ravenna, where the emperor then was. He continued his march, almoſt without halting, till he arrived at Rome *, which he immediately inveſted, blocking up all the roads, and avenues, leading to it, and placing guards at the mouth, and on the banks of the Tiber, prevented the inhabitants from receiving any ſupplies, or proviſions, by water. This ſoon reduced the city to the utmoſt diſtreſs, for being greatly crouded, a famine enſued, followed by a plague, ariſing from the number of dead bodies that lay in the ſtreets unburied; one hiſtorian ſays, that the unhappy citizens were reduced to the dreadful neceſſity of feeding upon human fleſh, and devouring each other. Being in this miſerable condition, they ſent deputies to treat with Alaric, who agreed to raiſe the ſiege, and ever after to continue faithful to the Romans, provided they would give hoſtages, and pay him five thouſand pounds weight of gold, thirty thouſand of ſilver, and give him four thouſand ſilk garments, three thouſand ſkins of purple dye, and as many pounds of pepper. To raiſe this ſum, the ſenators were taxed according to their eſtates; but as they had not ſo much ready money by them; to make up the deficiency, they melted down the ornaments

* Year of Chriſt, 408. Of Rome, 1206.

of

of the temples, and the images of their Gods, amongſt others, that of Valour, with which the Roman valour totally expired, as had been foretold. The ſum agreed on was ſent to Alaric, and Honorius ratified the peace; when the former raiſed the ſiege, and retired with his army into Hetruria. But as Honorius, under various pretences, declined delivering up to Alaric, the promiſed hoſtages, and fulfilling ſome other articles of the treaty, though ſtrongly urged thereto by the Roman ſenate; Alaric, being provoked at this, returned to Rome, and blocked it up again; when forty thouſand ſlaves made their eſcape out of the city, and reinforced his army. Honorius ſent ſix thouſand choſen troops to the defence of the city; but they were intercepted by Alaric's parties, and all killed, or taken priſoners, except their commanders, Valens, Attalus, and about a hundred more, who eſcaped to Rome. In the mean time, Ataulphus, whom Alaric had ſent for, as already ſaid, was advancing to join him; and entered the province of Venetia, when Honorius diſpatched againſt him all the forces quartered in the neighbouring towns, who cut in pieces eleven hundred of his men, with the loſs only of fifteen; but, notwithſtanding this check, Ataulphus purſued his march, and joined Alaric. About this time, Olympius, the prime miniſter, was

diſgraced; he was ſucceeded by Jovius, then prefect of Italy.

The ſenate ſent a ſecond deputation to the emperor, preſſing him to execute the articles of a treaty which he himſelf had ratified. At the ſame time, Alaric, advanced with part of his army to Ariminum, or Rimini, that he might be nearer at hand to treat with the emperor, then at Ravenna. Jovius himſelf met him at Rimini; and after ſome conferences with him, wrote to court, adviſing the emperor to comply with the articles formerly agreed to; or, if he thought them unreaſonable, to ſatisfy Alaric by preferring him to the poſt of commander in chief of all the Roman forces. To this letter the emperor anſwered, that he was reſolved never to prefer Alaric or any of his people. Alaric was ſo provoked at the prince's declaration, that he immediately decamped, bending his march towards Rome: but, ſoon after, changing his mind, he ſent ſome biſhops to Honorius, with very moderate propoſals. Theſe propoſals, however reaſonable, were rejected, Jovius having induced the emperor to ſwear, that he would never make peace, but wage perpetual war, with Alaric: this he ſwore himſelf by the emperor's head, and obliged all the officers, both civil and military, to take the ſame oath. Alaric, though informed of theſe unaccountable proceedings, ſent back the biſhops to Ravenna, earneſtly intreating the emperor

emperor, who had not ſufficient forces to withſtand him, not to ſuffer that ſtately metropolis, which for ſo many ages had been revered by all nations as miſtreſs of the world, to become a prey to her enemies.

But the emperor continuing obſtinate in his former reſolution, Alaric purſued his march to Rome; and, approaching the city, acquainted the inhabitants with the emperor's invincible obſtinacy, inviting them, at the ſame time, to conſult their own ſafety by joining him againſt Honorius. This propoſal they rejected at firſt with indignation; but Alaric having, after a few days ſiege, taken the caſtle at the mouth of the Tiber, in which all the public proviſions were lodged, they immediately opened their gates, and received him into the city, which he entered, attended by a ſmall guard, and obliged the citizens to renounce their allegiance to Honorius, and acknowlege, not himſelf, as he might eaſily have done, but Attalus, then prefect of the city, for emperor. Attalus was a native of Ionia, and greatly beloved by Alaric, and his Goths.

Attalus, thus created emperor by Alaric, made him, in return, commander in chief of all his forces. As it was a matter of the utmoſt importance to ſecure Africa, whence Rome was ſupplied with proviſions, Alaric adviſed the new emperor to ſend thither, without delay, a conſiderable body of troops,

under the conduct of Drumas, who was by nation a Goth, but an officer of great experience and addreſs: but Attalus, contrary to the advice of Alaric, ſent one Conſtantine, or Conſtans, a perſon quite unacquainted with military affairs, and with him but a ſmall number of troops. But Conſtantine was, upon his firſt landing, cut off, with all his men, by Heraclianus, who took care to place guards in all the ports of Africa, that no corn might be thence conveyed to Rome, which, by that means, was ſoon reduced to great ſtreights.

In the mean time Attalus, without waiting news from Africa, ſet out from Rome with the ſuccours he received from Alaric, with a deſign to beſiege the emperor in Ravenna; who, alarmed at his motions, diſpatched Jovius, the prime miniſter, Valens, general of the foot, Potamus, the quæſtor, and Julian, his firſt ſecretary, to wait his arrival at Rimini, and acquaint him, that the emperor was willing to acknowlege him as his partner in the empire. But Attalus would only grant Honorius his life, and the liberty of retiring to what iſland he pleaſed. Jovius, in a private conference with Attalus, not only adviſed him to inſiſt upon theſe terms, but ſuggeſted to him, that he ought to maim the emperor, ſo as to prevent his having iſſue; which wicked ſuggeſtion was rejected with horror, if Olympiodorus is to be

be credited, by Attalus himſelf. That treacherous miniſter returned to court; but, being ſent back to the uſurper with new propoſals, he continued with him. Honorius, finding himſelf thus betrayed by his friends, and no way in a condition to oppoſe ſo many enemies at once, reſolved to abandon Ravenna, and retire by ſea into the Eaſt; but was diverted from that reſolution by the ſeaſonable arrival of four thouſand men, ſent him by his nephew Theodoſius; which encouraged him to continue at Ravenna, and there wait the iſſue of the war in Africa. And truly his arms were attended there with uncommon ſucceſs; for Attalus having, after the death of Conſtantine, ſent thither a body of troops far more numerous than the firſt, Heraclianus cut them likewiſe in pieces; and not only continued to keep the ports blocked up, ſo that no proviſions could be conveyed to Rome, but ſent a ſeaſonable ſupply of money to Honorius, which he immediately diſtributed among the ſoldiery, and, by that means, re-eſtabliſhed his affairs. In the mean time, Alaric reduced all the cities of Liguria and Æmilia, except Bononia, which he was obliged to abandon, after having lain a conſiderable time before it. He cauſed Attalus to be every-where proclaimed emperor, and obliged the people to ſwear allegiance to him.

The

The following year, 410, when Varanes alone was conſul, is remarkable for the taking of Rome by Alaric. As Heraclianus continued to keep the ports of Africa blocked up, and the lands in Italy had not been tilled for ſeveral years, by reaſon of the wars, the Roman people were reduced to feed on cheſnuts; nay, human fleſh was publicly ſold, and ſeveral mothers were ſaid to have devoured their children. This obliged both Alaric and Attalus to haſten to Rome, in order to adviſe with the ſenate about the proper means for ſupplying the city. Moſt part of the ſenators were for ſending into Africa a body of Goths, Alaric engaging, that Drumas, one of his officers, would reduce it with five hundred men only; but Attalus openly declared, that he would not by any means employ Goths in that war; which ſo picqued Alaric, who had already begun to look upon Attalus as one no way qualified for the high ſtation to which he had raiſed him, that he reſolved to depoſe him, leſt, by his obſtinacy and imprudence, he ſhould quite ruin his affairs. He was confirmed in this reſolution by Jovius, who perſuaded him, that Attalus, ſcorning to depend upon him, and to hold the empire upon precarious terms, was determined to deſtroy him.

Alaric, finding the new emperor unequal to ſo great a charge, and provoked at his late declaration and miſconduct with reſpect to the

the affairs of Africa, ſent deputies once more to Honorius, with very reaſonable terms; which the emperor ſeeming to comply with, Alaric publicly ſtripped the mock prince of all the enſigns of ſovereignty, and ſent them to Honorius. He would not, however, deliver up either Attalus, or his ſon Ampelius; but inſiſted upon their being pardoned, ſince their crime was owing more to him than to them. Attalus being thus depoſed, Alaric approached Ravenna, and ſtopped at a place called the Alps, about nine miles from that city, in order to put the laſt hand to the treaty of accomodation between him and the emperor. But this peaceable face of affairs was ſoon changed by an unlucky and unforeſeen accident: Sarus the Goth, commanded a body of three hundred men in Picenum, without declaring either for Honorius or Alaric. However, Ataulphus, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, reſolved to deſtroy him, and with this view marched at the head of a ſtrong party againſt him; which obliged him to declare for Honorius, and retire to Ravenna. Sarus, apprehending a peace would be prejudicial to him, fell unexpectedly upon the Goths, and put ſome of them to the ſword. However that be, it is certain, that Alaric departed in a great rage from the neighbourhood of Ravenna, and returned to his army, encamped near Rome, as ſoon as Sarus had joined the emperor, reſtoring the purple

purple, and other enſigns of majeſty, to Attalus; but, in a few days, degrading him anew, as if he deſigned to traduce, and expoſe to ridicule, the imperial dignity.

Alaric no ſooner arrived before Rome, than he blocked it up on all ſides, and, by that means, as proviſions were already very ſcarce, reduced it in a few days to the utmoſt extremity. Honorius, when told by one of his courtiers, that Rome was loſt *, underſtood him of a favourite cock bearing that name, not being yet informed, that the city of Rome was beſieged. Procopius writes, that Proba, an illuſtrious Roman matron, pitying the unhappy condition of the people, reduced by the famine that had long raged in the city to the fatal neceſſity of devouring one another, opened the gates in the night-time to the enemy. Sozomen ſays it was taken by treachery.

Be that as it will, that proud and haughty city, ſtiled the metropolis of the univerſe, after having triumphed over ſo many nations, and extended her dominions from one end of the known world to the other, was, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt of the preſent year 410, taken by a barbarian, who had not a foot of ground which he could properly call his own. As ſhe had, for the ſpace

* Year of Chriſt 410, Year of Rome, 1208.

of

of one thouſand one hundred and ſixty-three years, pillaged the reſt of the world, and enriched herſelf with the ſpoils of the plundered nations, ſhe underwent, in the end, the ſame fate, and ſuffered, in her turn, the ſame calamities, which ſhe had brought upon others.

Alaric, when upon the point of breaking into the city, addreſſing his ſoldiers, told them, That all the wealth lodged in it was theirs, and therefore he gave them full liberty to ſeize it; but at the ſame time, he ſtrictly injoined them to ſhed the blood of none but ſuch as they ſhould find in arms; and, above all, to ſpare thoſe who ſhould take ſanctuary in the holy places, eſpecially in the churches of the apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul, which he named, becauſe they were moſt ſpacious, and conſequently capable of affording an aſylum to great numbers of people. Having given theſe orders, he abandoned the city to his Goths, who treated it no better, than the Greeks are ſaid to have treated ancient Troy; for after having plundered it for the ſpace of three, or, as others will have it, of ſix days, they ſet fire to it in ſeveral places; ſo that the ſtately palace of Salluſt, and many other magnificent buildings, were reduced to aſhes; nay, there was not in the whole city one houſe left intire, and thus the great metropolis of the empire was reduced to an heap of aſhes and ruins. Though many of the Goths, pur-

purſuant to the orders of their general, refrained from ſhedding the blood of ſuch as made no reſiſtance, yet others, more cruel and blood-thirſty, maſſacred all they met; ſo that the ſtreets in ſome quarters of the city were ſeen covered with heaps of dead bodies, and ſwimming in blood. However, not the leaſt injury was offered to thoſe who had fled to the churches; nay, the Goths themſelves conveyed thither, as to places of ſafety, ſuch as they were deſirous ſhould be ſpared. Many of the ſtatues of the Gods, that had been left entire by the emperors, as excellent pieces of art, were on this occaſion deſtroyed, either by the Goths, who, though moſtly Arians, were zealous Chriſtians, or by a dreadful ſtorm of thunder and lightning, which fell at the ſame time upon the city, as if it had been ſent on purpoſe to complete, with them, the deſtruction of idolatry, and aboliſh the ſmall remains of Pagan ſuperſtition.

And thus I conclude the ancient hiſtory of Sieges and Battles.

End of the Fourth Volume.

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